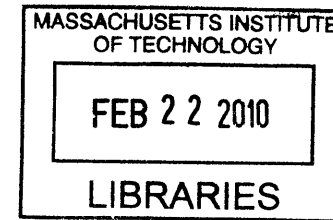


AFTER THE CRASH :
Reclaiming Bangkok's *City of Ghosts*

by Kevin M. Moore
B.S. Civil Engineering
Northwestern University, 1999



Submitted to the Department of Architecture in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

February 2010

ARCHIVES

© Kevin M. Moore. All rights reserved.

The author hereby grants to MIT permission to reproduce and to distribute publicly paper
and electronic copies of this thesis document in whole or in part in any medium now known
or hereafter created.

Signature of Author: _____
Department of Architecture
January 15, 2010

Certified by: _____
Ana Miljački
Assistant Professor of Architecture
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by: _____
Julian Beinart
Professor of Architectural Design
Chair, Department Committee on Graduate Students

Thesis Committee

Ana Miljački, Advisor
Assistant Professor of Architecture
Department of Architecture

Shun Kanda, Reader
Senior Lecturer
Department of Architecture

Rahul Mehrotra, Reader
Professor of Architecture
Department of Architecture

AFTER THE CRASH : Reclaiming Bangkok's *City of Ghosts*

by Kevin M. Moore

Submitted to the Department of Architecture on January 15, 2010 in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Masters of Architecture

ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the issue of ghost buildings in Bangkok, Thailand – buildings left unfinished since the financial crisis of 1997. Predicated by massive foreign investment, profligate lending and speculative construction, the crash left over five hundred ‘interrupted’ projects – buildings upwards of fifty storeys – standing as unwelcome monuments to global capital run amok.

This project proposes reclamation strategies that would enable ‘small agents’ to inhabit and revive the abandoned structures. The design intends to echo both the populist, nativist movement that has taken root in post-crash Thailand, as well as the myriad informal systems that allow the overtaxed city of Bangkok to function vibrantly.

Thesis Supervisor: Ana Miljački
Title: Assistant Professor of Architecture

Acknowledgements

To my steadfast advisor, Ana,
thank you for helping me believe.

To Shun, for your well-timed comments.

There are many I would like to thank for their support during my year in Thailand:
Ploynapas Patcharasopochai, Aroon Puritat, Pitupong Chaowakul, Narong Othavorn (and the gang at *art4d* magazine), Pote Videt, Non Arkaraprasertkul. Thanks to the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration and the Bangkok Post for research and archival material. And thanks to Khun Sumet, for his gracious tour.

And of course, hearty thanks to the entire ‘mini-office’ - Adam Johnston, Tad Jusczyk, Seth Behrends, Chris Taylor, Mary Hale, Haruka Horiuchi, and Felicity Aulino - for their gallant support in the final push.

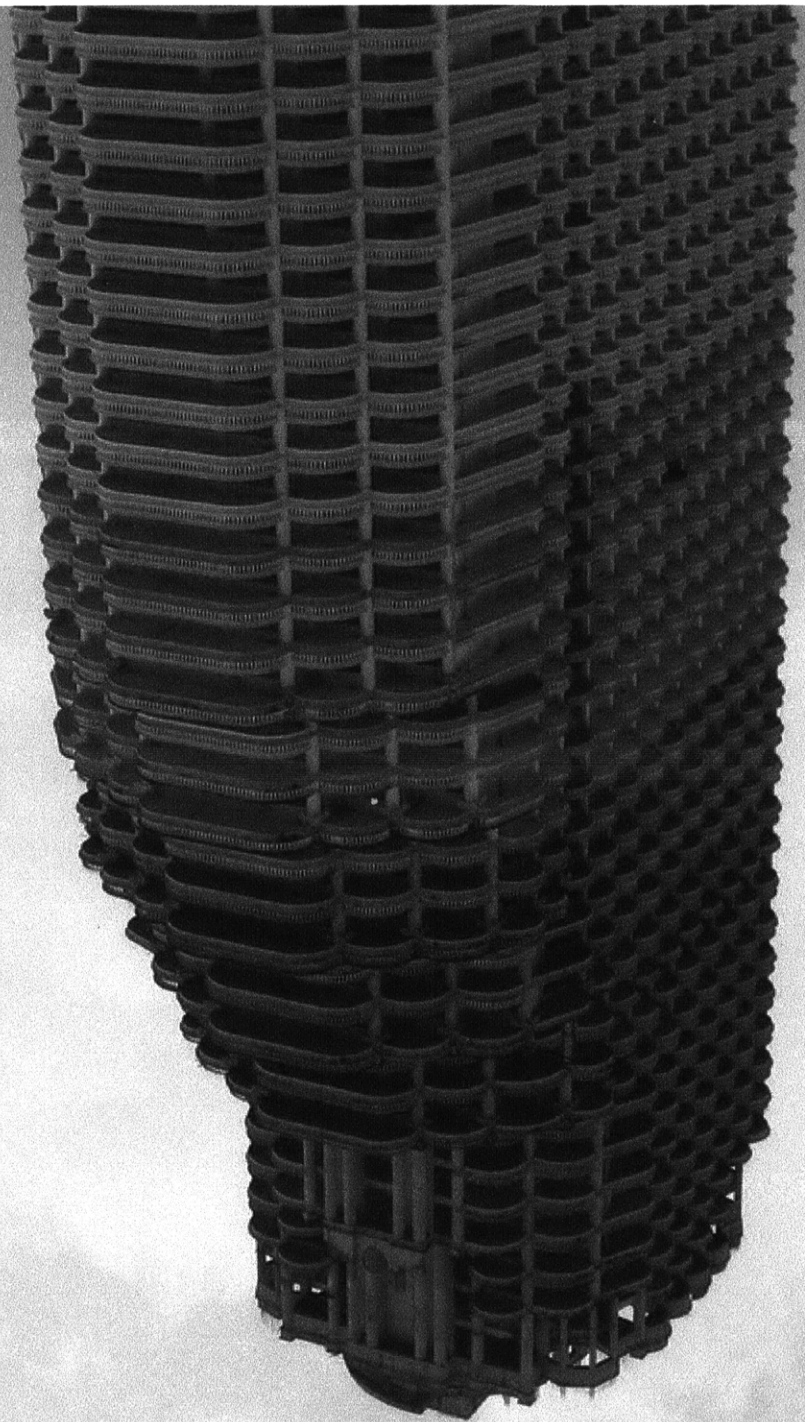
Last, to Felicity, for absolutely everything.

CONTENTS

0_ Introduction	9
1_ Ghost City	15
<i>Scenario</i>	
<i>Count</i>	
<i>Scale</i>	
<i>Countdown</i>	
<i>Agents</i>	
<i>30 Over 20</i>	
<i>Reclamation</i>	
2_ Case Study	27
<i>Magnet</i>	
<i>Access</i>	
<i>Re-Wrap</i>	
<i>Re-Fill</i>	
3_ Strategy	35
<i>Protect</i>	
<i>Project</i>	
<i>Plug In</i>	
<i>Incubate</i>	
<i>Expand</i>	
<i>Populate</i>	
<i>Public(ize)</i>	
4_ Intervention	49
<i>Fabric Interior</i>	
<i>Hanging Ramp</i>	
<i>Green Market</i>	
Bibliography/Image Credits	67
Appendix	71
<i>A_Early Writings</i>	
<i>B_Proposal</i>	
<i>C_Ghost Index</i>	
<i>D_Lecture</i>	

AFTER THE CRASH

ARCHITECTURE FOR THE OTHER
SIDE OF THE ECONOMIC MIRACLE



INTRODUCTION

How to Inhabit a Burst Bubble

One question kept surfacing throughout my thesis process: What would it look like to inhabit a burst bubble?

Albeit a bit ambiguous, the question distills some of the architectural questions of the thesis:

How might you 'finish' a building left abandoned by the crash of 1997, yet maintain its status as a 'monument', a visual critique to the speculative binge that predicated the crisis?

How might the reclamation of these towers, victims of hyper-globalism, respond with hyper-local fervor?

How might the vertical city of Bangkok look more like the horizontal city?

How could you design greater access into the towers and open up what had been controlled space?

Just how malleable is a developer-plate building – to what degree is intervention even possible?



Yellow Shirt, Red Shirt:

A brief introduction to current Thai politics

The general arc of my thesis responds to recent socio-political dynamics in Thailand. This period began in the summer of 2007 – when the seeds of my proposal were first sown – through 2008 and 2009 – a year spent working and researching in Thailand – to the present, as I write this in early 2010. As it positions itself firmly within the political conversation (or shouting match) in Thailand, any description of my project would be incomplete without, at the very least, a primer in current Thai politics.

One area of interest in my initial thesis proposal was the ‘Yellow Shirt’ phenomenon¹ in Thailand. Beginning in 2006, people began wearing yellow² short-sleeved, collared polo shirts with the royal seal on the breast to celebrate both the 80th birthday and 60th year on the throne of Thailand’s King Bhumiphol, currently the world’s longest standing monarch.

The Yellow Shirt Phenomenon was interesting for myriad reasons (see Appendix A for more details), managing to merge national identity, or Thai-ness (*kwam-bpenthai*), with attire that was more in tune with the tropical climate than the western business suit, which – prior to 2006 - had become standard office wear. With that in mind, I initially proposed a project which would activate ‘ghost building’ reclamation in Bangkok with the architectualization (to coin a term) of the ubiquitous yellow shirt, attempting to play on the issues of identity, economy, climate-responsive material, et cetera.

Then, just as I began to solidify it, the basis for my tidy little narrative on the Yellow Shirt was swept away in the changing tides of Thai politics. In September of that same year, 2006 (year 2549 in the Thai Buddhist calendar), the Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, was ousted in a bloodless

coup by the Thai military, with the implicit blessing of HRH King Bhumiphol². Yellow shirts shifted from a universal display of support for a beloved, aging monarch to the official gear of pro-coup demonstrators. This group, ironically named the PAD (Peoples’ Alliance for Democracy) is more widely known as the *Yellow Shirts*. Shortly after elections in 2008, after a year of military rule, The *Yellow Shirts* occupied Government House in Bangkok for several months, forcing the dissolution of a democratically elected parliament. In November 2008, they ignited intense international media coverage as well as the ire of many fellow Thais with their take over of Bangkok’s Suvarnabhumi International Airport.

Thaksin Shinawatra has been both the main target of the Yellow Shirts governmental critiques and the primary leader of the counter Red Shirts movement (otherwise known as the UDD, the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship). In the crudest of summaries, the *Yellow Shirts* comprise elite and/or educated members of Thai Society who were appalled by Thaksin’s alleged corruption and to some extent frightened by his mass popular support, particularly at a time when the fate of their beloved and aging King and his succession is in question. The *Red Shirts*, by contrast, is largely a rural poor movement, arguing that Thai

politics has always been corrupt and insisting that Thaksin was the first politician to give any credence to the rights and needs of the majority of Thais. The battle lines have been drawn and the country has become increasingly polarized, with color-coded rallies unfortunately taking the place of more in-depth and productive political discussions.

Looking back, it is fitting that the specter of the ousted PM Thaksin echoes throughout my project because, much like the ghost buildings of Bangkok, he was a direct product of the Thai Economic Crisis of 1997. A telecom billionaire and, for a time, the richest man in Thailand, Thaksin founded the populist *ThaiRakThai* (Thais Love Thais) party in 1998 and was elected prime minister, by a landslide, in 2001. He was re-elected by a wide margin in 2005, becoming the first PM in Thailand's volatile modern era (which began with the end of absolute monarchy in 1932) to serve a full term in office. Thaksin and *ThaiRakThai* focused upon highly popular policies to alleviate rural poverty, and launched Thailand's first universal health-care program. The TRT-dominated upon highly popular policies to alleviate rural poverty, and launched Thailand's first universal healthcare program. The TRT-dominated parliament also ushered in a period of decentralization of the Thai government, in efforts to give provinces and districts more financial

autonomy and, perhaps more importantly, to undermine the politics of cronyism that had held the majority of the Thai GDP within the hands of a few dozen 'old-money' families (often with ties to the royal family). Along the way, Thaksin cultivated a base of ardent supporters, centered on the urban poor and rural population, the two groups hit hardest by the fallout from the crisis of 1997.

Whether or not the *Red Shirts* represent an enlightened populist movement or some media-dominated lemming populace remains to be seen. Nevertheless, this project takes the Red Shirts at face value and pushes forward the question as to whether an activated public could make a vertical populist revolution by in some way democratically taking over an abandoned high rise and making it their own.

¹ See Appendix A for further early writing on the *Yellow Shirts* of Thailand, and possible translations into architecture.

² Images of the King and royal family played during the announcement of the coup. PM Thaksin was abroad at the time, and has yet to legally return to Thailand – becoming, in absentia, the symbol for the populist party supporters, aka The *Red Shirts*.

³ In Thailand, each day of the week corresponds to an auspicious color, and each Thai knows the day of the week they were born. HRH King Bhumiphol was born on a Monday (in Cambridge, MA, in fact – long story), which has a day-color of yellow (The queen is sky blue/Friday). Chances are, when you see yellow on a sign or flag in Thailand, it represents the King.



fig. 0.1.1 Red Shirt supporters halt traffic at Victory Monument in Bangkok (April 9, 2009)

GHOST CITY

1



Ten years ago, Sathorn Unique was destined to be one of the city's glitziest addresses. Today, its Corinthian columns and four-story arches are nearly lost amid a tangle of trees and vines. Although workers completed the building's basic structure all the way to the top, its concrete shell starts to peter out about 20 stories up, leaving exposed metal and a half-finished dome on the roof. Steel bars jut out in all directions and mounds of refuse litter the grounds. Inside, two out-of-service escalators climb to nowhere and the smell of urine is overpowering.

(New York Times - 7.27.07)

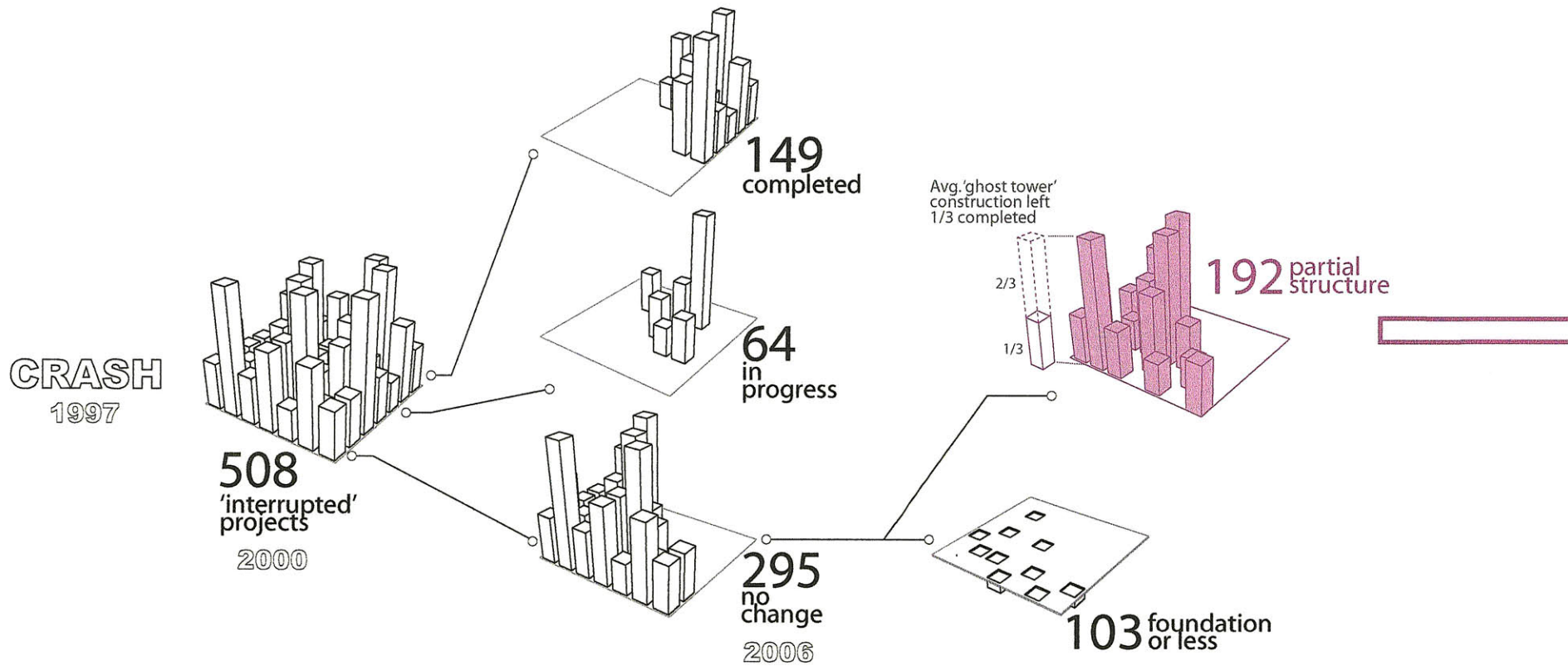


Sathorn Unique is one of dozens of major 'ghost' structures that haunt Bangkok's skyline. While the International Monetary Fund declared the financial crisis in Thailand officially 'over' in 2000, and the majority of the 500 or more high rises left unfinished when the 1997 crisis struck have been completed, as many as one-fifth of the projects that were interrupted in central Bangkok are still not completed, and many may never be.

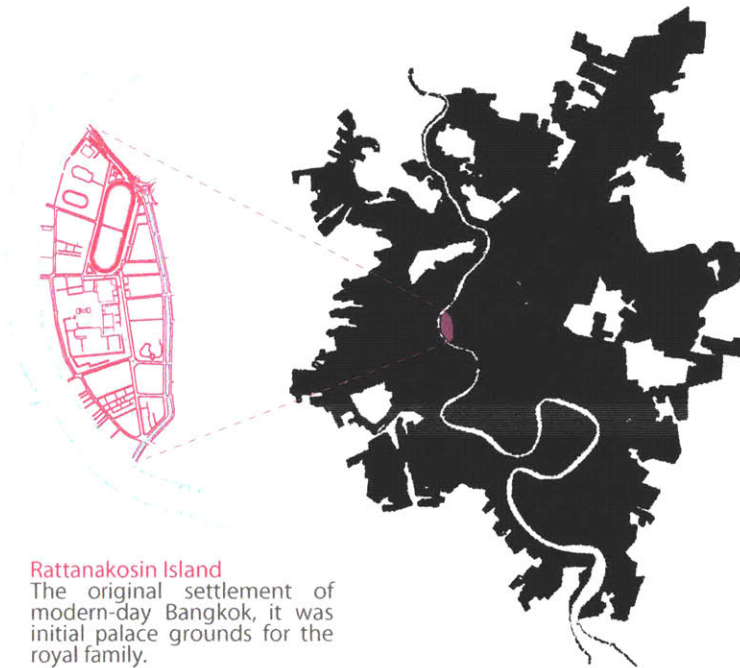
The city planning office has attempted to help developers devise alternatives for the buildings - even offering them easier licensing terms for converting, say, an office building into apartments. **This project intends to extend the alternatives for these ghost buildings.** Seeing as the window of opportunity to reuse the completed structure without major repairs is drawing to a close, how might the Sathorn Unique and other towers be re-enlivened through uses far afield from their initial speculative intent.

Bangkok residents have taken to jokingly refer to these buildings as *anusaowaree*, or monuments. Monuments to the speculators and the era of rapid growth in the decade leading up to the crisis in 1997. These monuments could be thought of as a gift as well. Pieces of found modernism, simply waiting to be repurposed.

GHOST CITY COUNT



built
1,620,000 sq.m.
+
3,120,000 sq.m.
left unbuilt



Ghost City Scale
The combined floor area of the buildings left unfinished in Bangkok from the 1997 crisis.

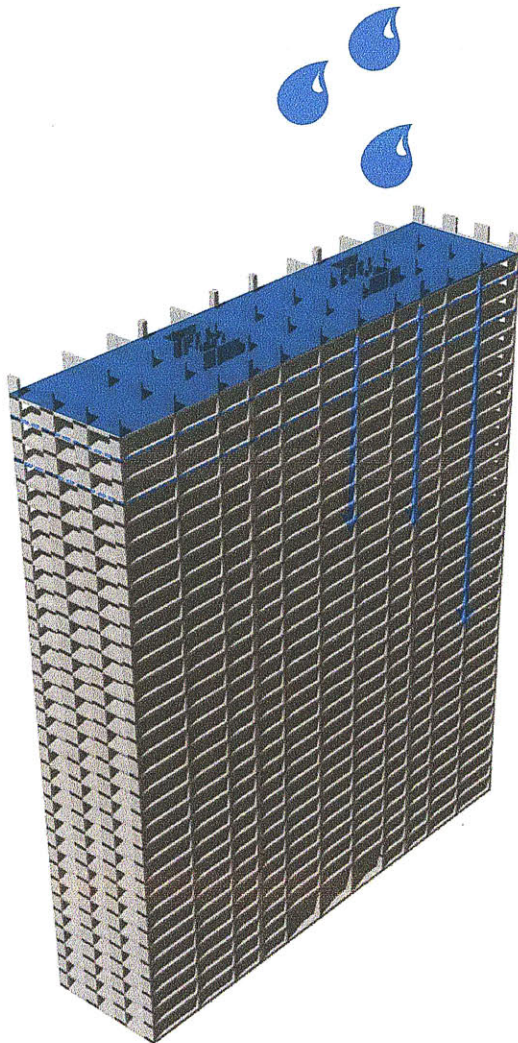
Rattanakosin Island
The original settlement of modern-day Bangkok, it was initial palace grounds for the royal family.

Measuring roughly 1km x 2km, the 'City of Angels' (*Krungthep Maha Nakorn*) is slightly smaller than the footprint of the 'City of Ghosts' within post-crash BKK.

In 2000, the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) conducted a census of all the construction projects in the capital city that had been 'interrupted' by the economic crisis of 1997.

This census, consisting of 508 major projects, provided a count and a scale for the 'ghost city' of Bangkok - and offered staggering numbers that underscored the severity of the issue.

Strangely enough, the overall abandoned floor space of the nearly 300 remaining 'ghosts' totals an area slightly larger than Rattanakosin Island, the original royal city and spiritual center of Bangkok.



1997

CRASH

Rain falls onto the unfinished, exposed structure.
(1500mm/year in BKK)

2006

Wicking through the porous concrete, water begins to corrode the steel rebar, beginning with the topmost floor slabs.

2009

Eventually, water infiltration descends into steel within the buildings' columns.

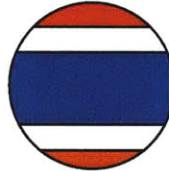
2012

2015

At a critical point, it becomes more costly to repair the damage than to tear down and build anew. This seems the fate of many current 'ghost' bldgs.

2018

FAILURE

GOVERNMENT

Majority shareholder, via 'Bad Bank' (TAMC), of most of the remaining 'ghost buildings' of Bangkok.

PRIVATE INVESTOR

As mandated by the IMF, only foreign investors could buy from 1997-2001. After 2001, many Thai developers that were bailed out with public funds began buying unfinished properties.


*SMALL AGENTS
(COLLECTIVE)*

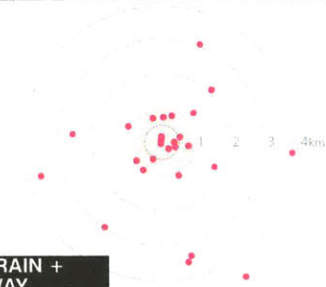
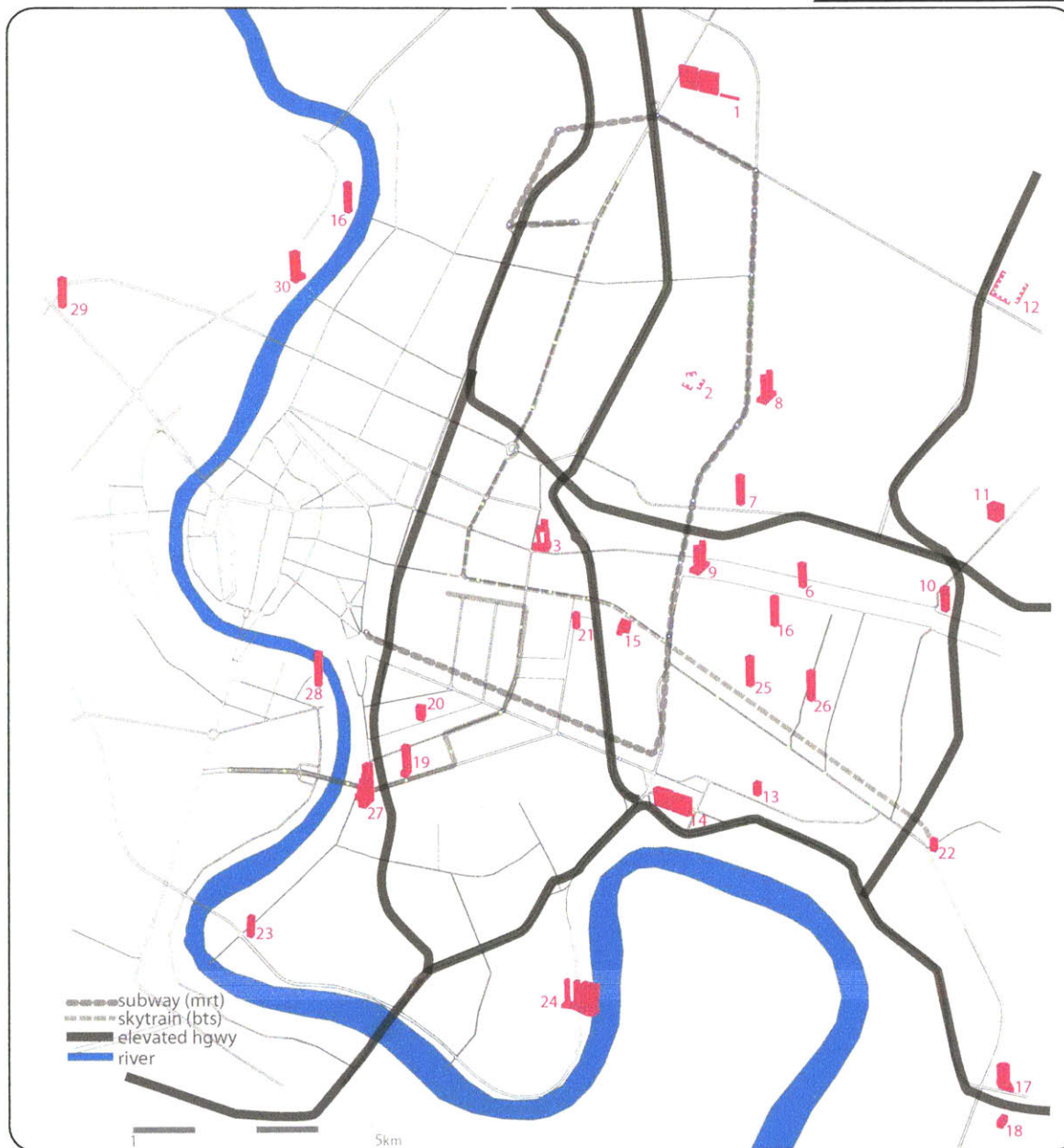
In the spirit of a nativist populism that arose after the crisis, and with most strategically located 'ghosts' re-developed, this project chooses to focus upon small agents.

The 'ghost' buildings would be reclaimed in a manner similar to the rest of urban Bangkok - in a fluid, quasi-formal manner - where nodes of infrastructure become opportunities for growth.

GHOST CITY / 30 OVER 20

A survey of thirty 'ghost' towers in Bangkok - buildings over 20 storeys, abandoned due to the 1997 economic crisis, that remain unfinished.

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|--|---|--|--|
| 1  | Pahonyothin Rd.
Chatuckak District
3 bldgs, 34 floors | 8  | Phrachauthit Rd.
Huay Kwang District
34 floors | 15  | Sukhumvit Rd.
Khlong Toey District
14 floors | 23  | Phra Ram 3 Rd.
Yannawa District
25 floors |
| 2  | Phrhasongkro 16
DinDaeng District
12 bldgs, 8 floors | 9  | Phetchaburi Mai Rd.
Huay Kwang District
2 bldgs, 28 + 35 floors | 16  | Ch. Sanitthawong 72
Bang Phlat District
36 floors | 24  | Phra Ram 3 Rd.
Yannawa District
4 bldgs, 41 floors |
| 3  | Rachaprarop Rd.
Rachathewi District
20 floors | 10  | Ramkhamhaeng Rd.
Bangkapi District
35 floors | 17  | BangNa-Trat Rd.
BangNa District
26 floors | 25  | Sukhumvit Soi 43
Watthana District
32 floors |
| 4  | Nikhom Makkasan Rd.
Rachathewi District
25 floors | 11  | Ramkhamhaeng Rd.
Bangkapi District
20 floors | 18  | Sukhumvit Soi 105
BangNa District
3 bldgs, 7 floors | 26  | Sukhumvit Soi 55
Watthana District
33 floors |
| 5  | Sri Ayutthaya Rd.
Rachathewi District
40 floors | 12  | RamInthara Rd.
Bangkhen District
8 bldgs, 12 floors each
47 bldgs, 7 floors each | 19  | N.Sathorn Rd.
BangRak District
36 floors | 27  | Charoen Krung Rd.
Sathorn District
48 floors |
| 6  | Phetchaburi Mai Rd.
Huay Kwang District
22 floors | 13  | Phra Ram 4 Rd.
Khlong Toey District
18 floors | 20  | Anuman Rachathon
BangRak District
4 bldgs, 8 floors | 28  | Samdet ChaoPhraya
Khlong San District
51 floors |
| 7  | Phra Ram 9 Rd.
Huay Kwang District
43 floors | 14  | Ranong Rd.
Khlong Toey District
3 bldgs, 7/25/26 floors | 21  | Soi Ruamridi
Pathumwan District
25 floors | 29  | Boromrachachonni
Talingchan District
38 floors |
| | | | | 22  | Sukhumvit Soi 77
Prawet District
19 floors | 30  | Samdet Phrapinklao
Bangkok Noi District
39 floors |



SKYTRAIN + SUBWAY

Distance of 'ghost' towers from nearest subway/skytrain station. 'Ghosts' farther afield typically adjoin elevated highways.

FORM FOLLOWS INFRASTRUCTURE



ALONG THE CHAO PHRAYA

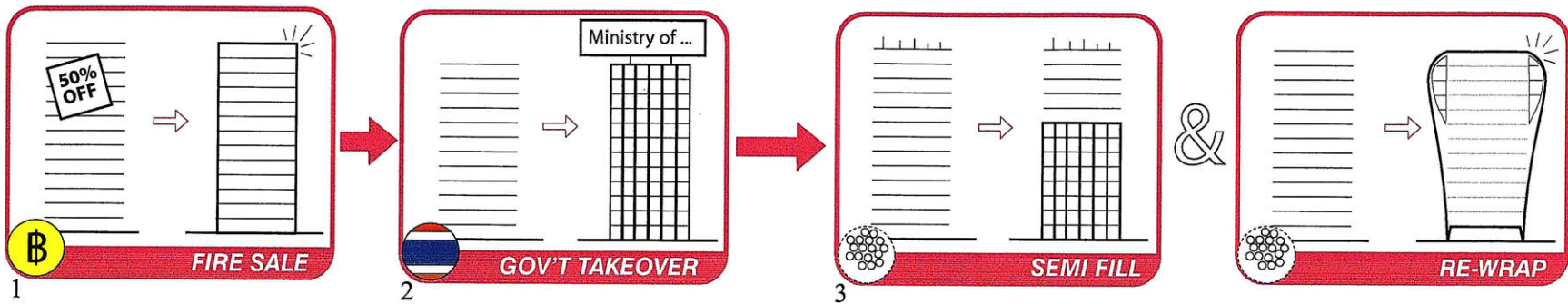
The 1990s saw great development of the Bangkok riverfront, the historical lifeline of the city. Several prominent ghosts remain at the Chao Phraya's edge.



ELEVATED HIGHWAY

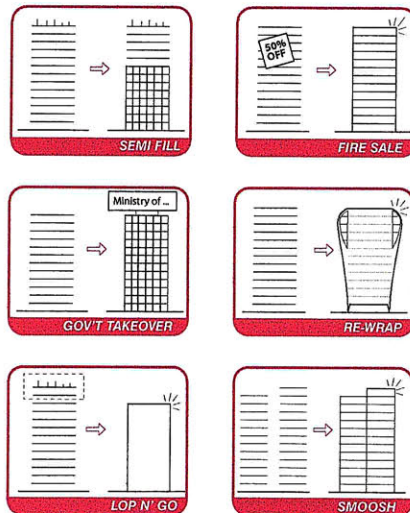
Along with the new subway and skytrain, development also focused upon access to the elevated tollway constructed above the city in the 1990s.

GHOST CITY / TIMELINE



STRATEGY MENU

The diagrams below represent several of the dominant strategies - economic, programmatic, architectural - employed during the past twelve years to revive the ghost city.



RECLAMATION PHASES

The process of reclamation of the ghost buildings of Bangkok has progressed in fairly distinct phases, each with certain strategies foregrounded.

Phase 1:

In the years following the 1997 crash, under the direction of the International Monetary Fund, the Thai government created a 'Bad Bank' (TAMC). The TAMC bought up 'toxic assets' from troubled Thai banks, and was under direction to sell at 'fire sale' prices to international buyers.

Phase 2:

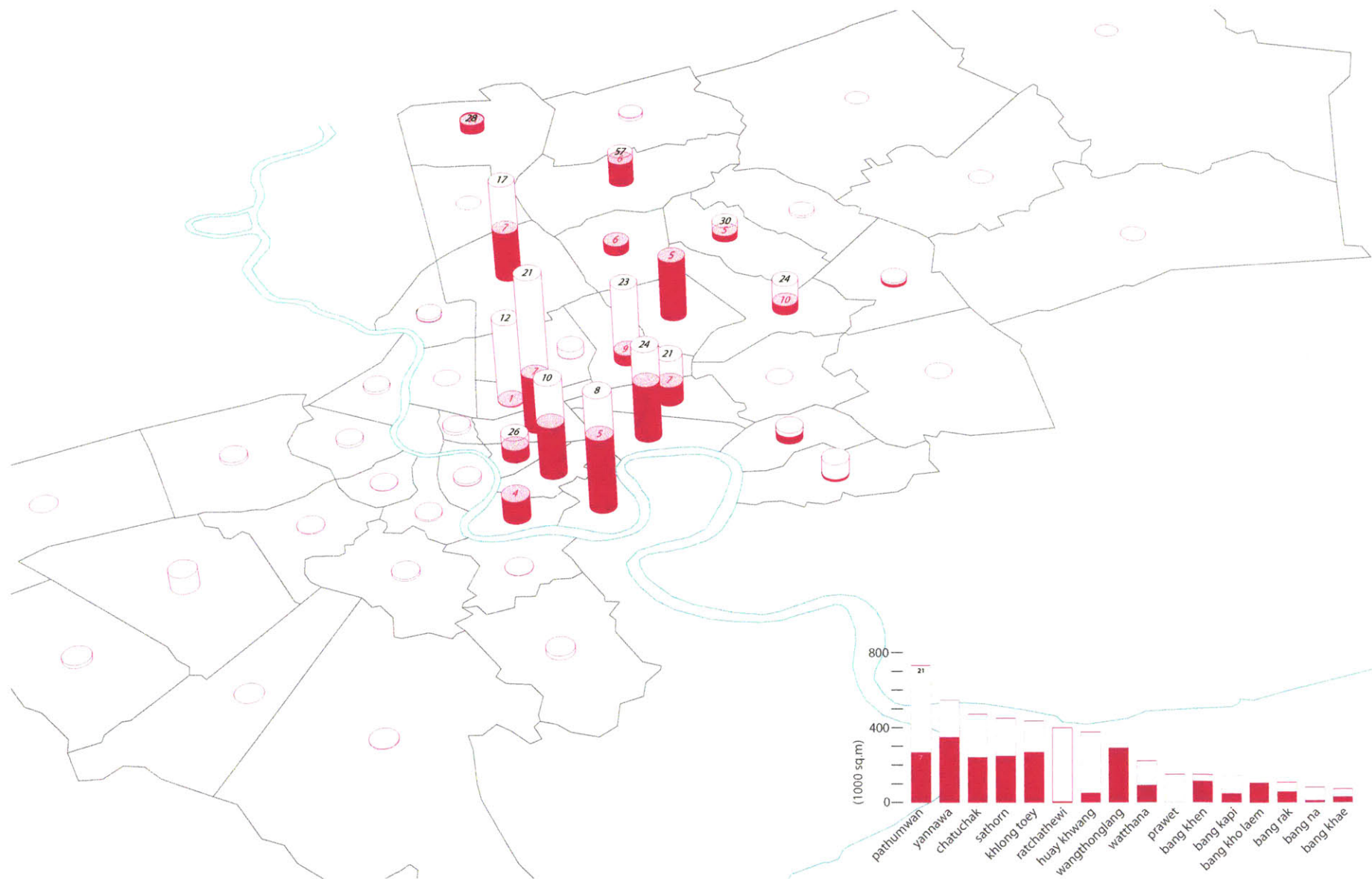
The Thai government mandated any office expansion to prioritize the use of 'ghost buildings'.

Phase 3:

As the era of large agents draws to a close, and the 'ghost city' nears its 15-20 year window of structural viability, a new mode of reclamation is needed.

This phase would employ some of the same strategies as used on earlier reclamation projects - though the focus would shift to small agents.

RECLAMATION / GHOST CITY



CASE STUDY

2



PAHON YOTHIN ROAD

View from the skywalk which connects access points to the Pahonyothin subway station.

‘Natural Place Condos’, the case study ghost building examined in this project, is the skeletal structure to the left of the graphic storefronts. The storefronts advertise for the digital printing shops at street level, and the billboards face the adjacent elevated highway.



RECLAMATION

The foundation of what was to be the third tower sits overgrown, representative of the natural reclamation process well underway after 12+ years of abandonment.

Sumet, above, is a security guard on the site. One of his duties is to prevent the exposed rebar from being salvaged for scrap.



ATRIUM

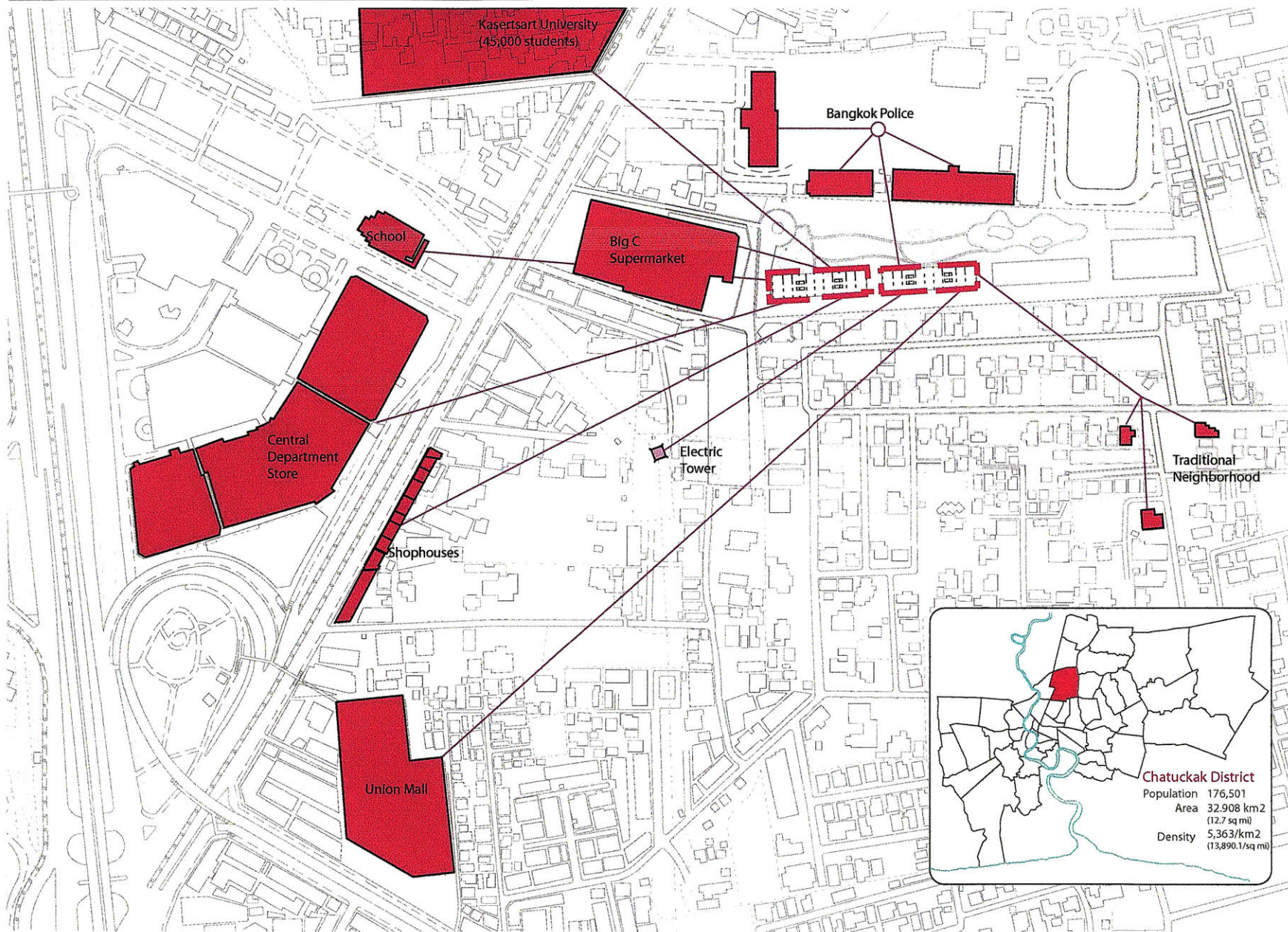
A view through the ground-level atrium of tower one, with stacks of unlaunched tile. The bottom right of the image offers a glimpse into an opportunistic carpenter's workshop.

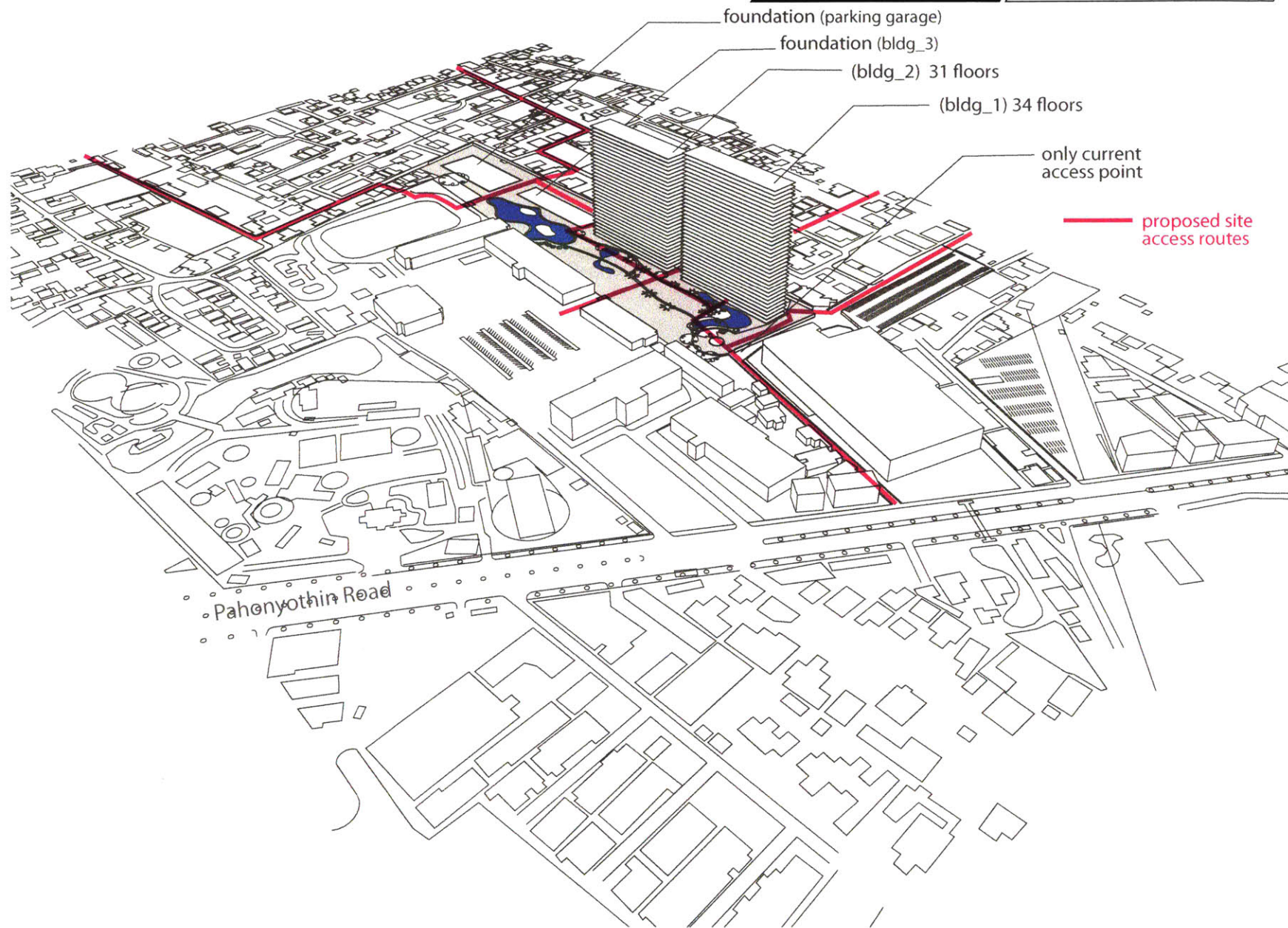
ENTRANCE (*opposite*)

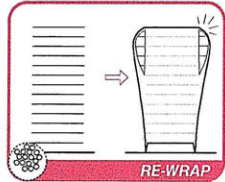
The formal entrance to the site, a shaded cul-de-sac, was designed as a car-oriented drop-off point. The white wall on the lower right wraps around the entire site.



CASE STUDY / MAGNET

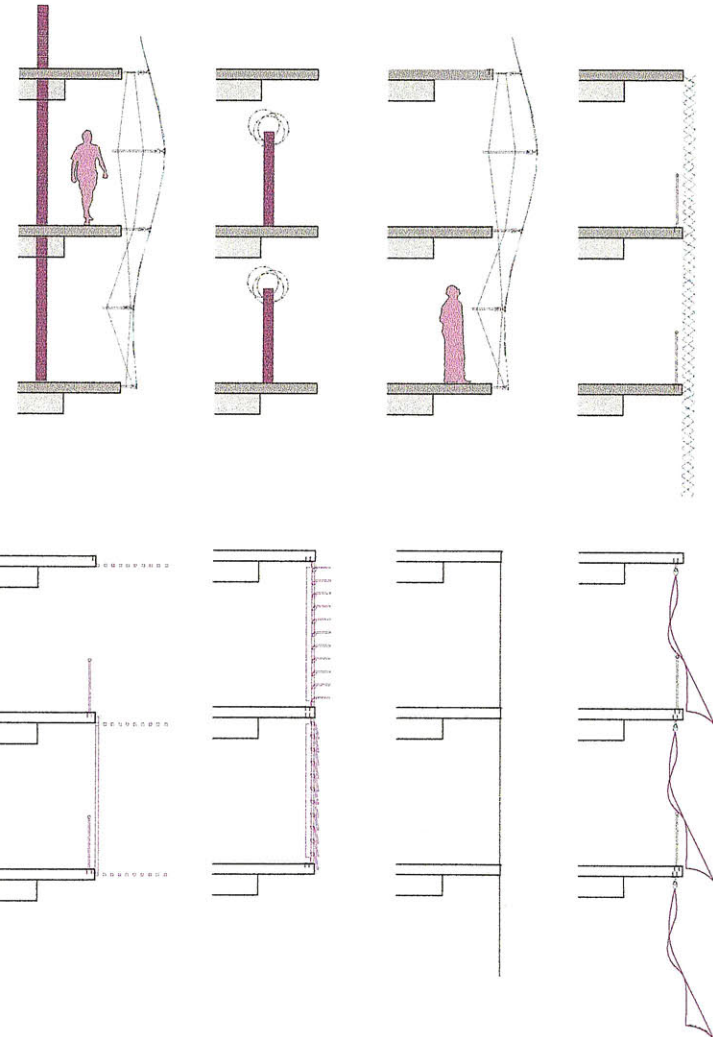
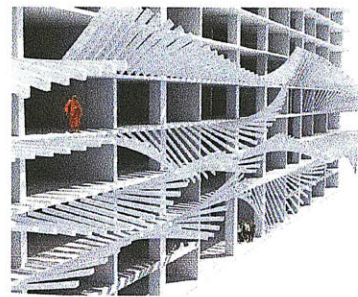
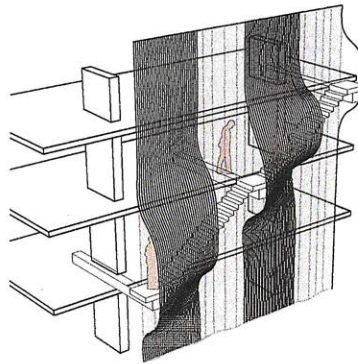


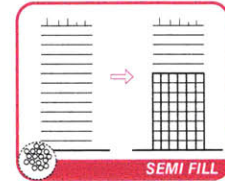
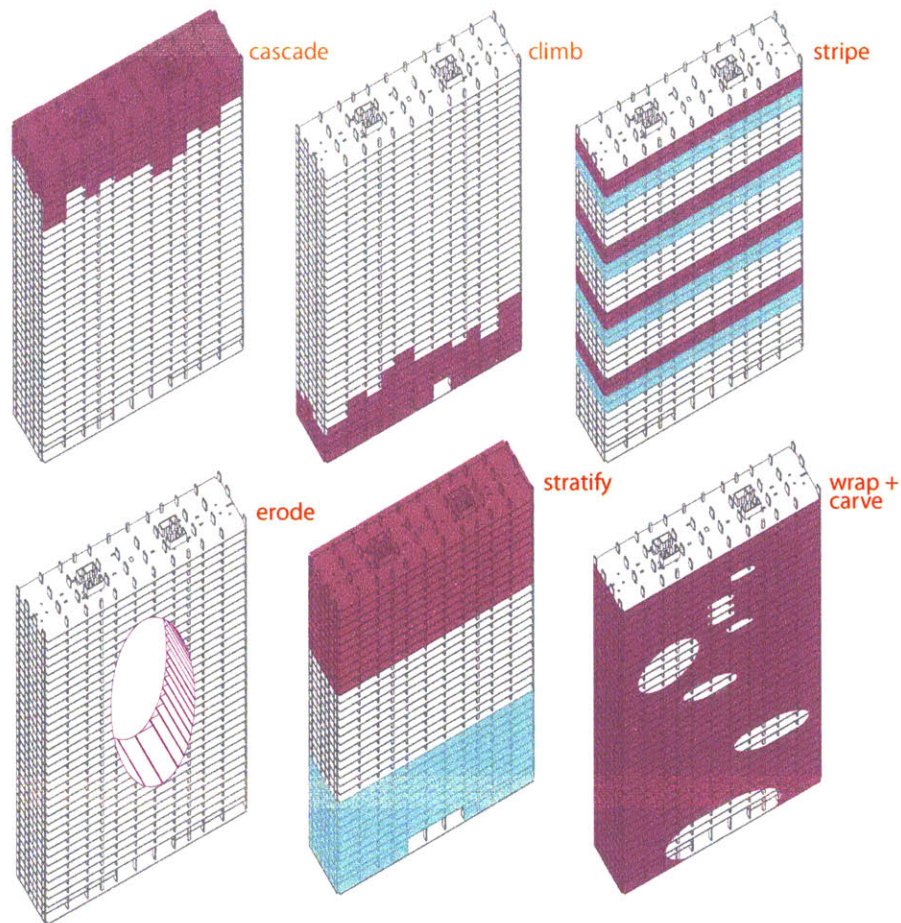




RE-WRAP SCHEMES

Initial investigations into facade schemes for the ghost in Chatuchak.



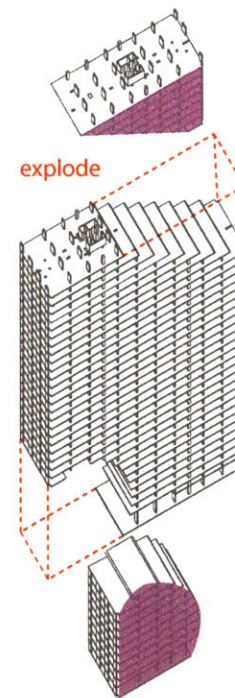


RE-FILL SCHEMES

Initial investigations into possible modes of occupying the ghost in Chatuchak.

All the schemes represent processes in which the building can be inhabited incrementally - reclamation as an act of anti-speculation.

Initial occupation would serve as a litmus test for the scheme - a process which would allow for experimentation through trial and error.



STRATEGY

3

ECHO

Wrap columns/roof to highlight the form on the unfinished bldgs.

SPEAK

Scrolling LED panel wraps around top two floors on bldg1, and covers bldg2. Roof contains PVs, whose energy is used to light LED messages.

GROW

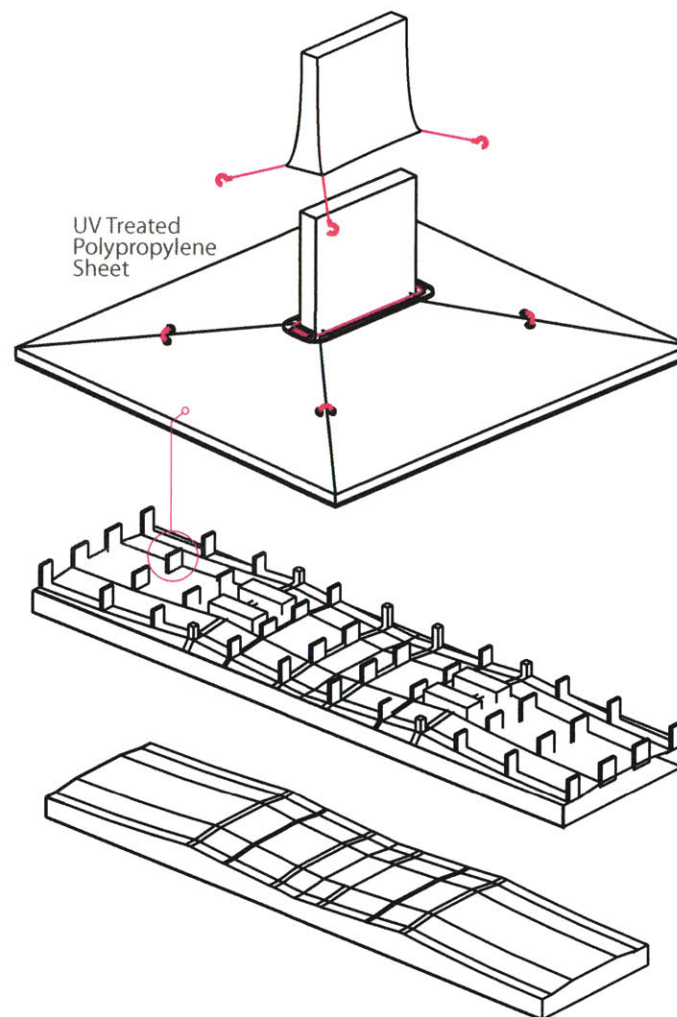
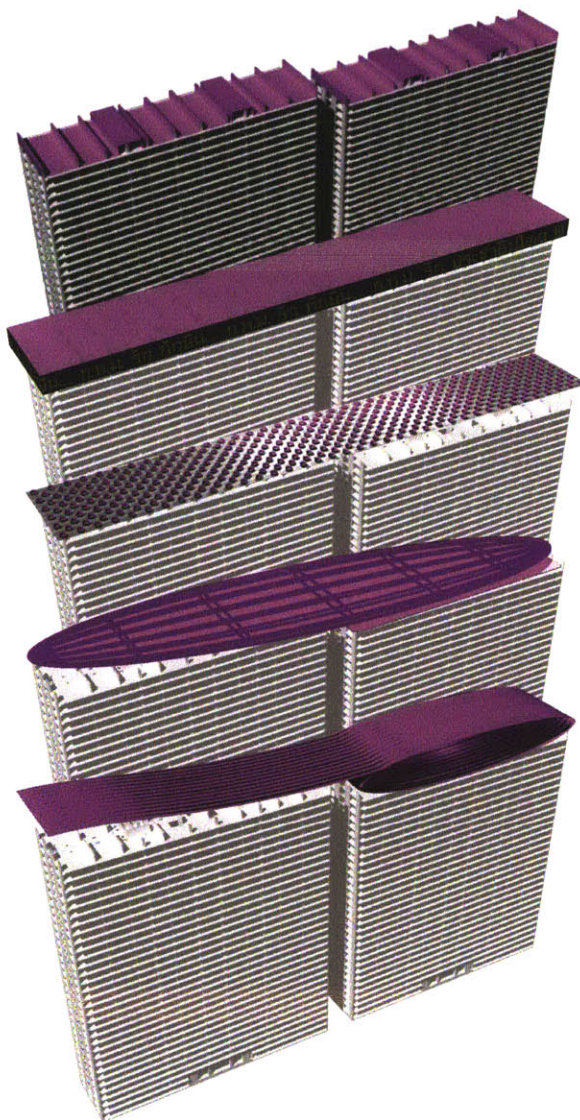
Use standard planters to grow food/plants for sale - protect bldg from sun and rain, while harvesting.

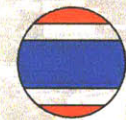
GLOW

PVs on roof - harvest energy for residents and for LED roof to glow at night - roof deck below on smaller bldg.

MEET

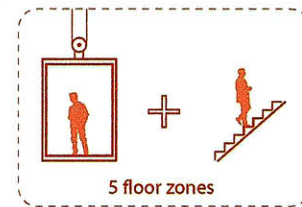
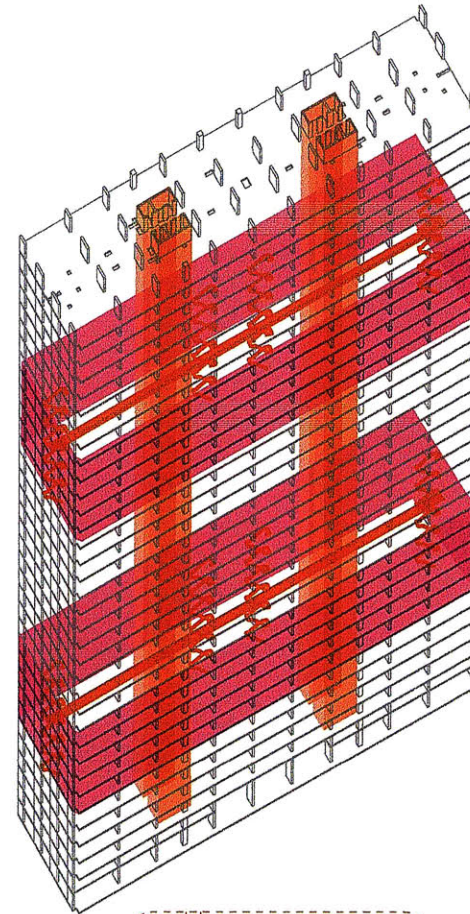
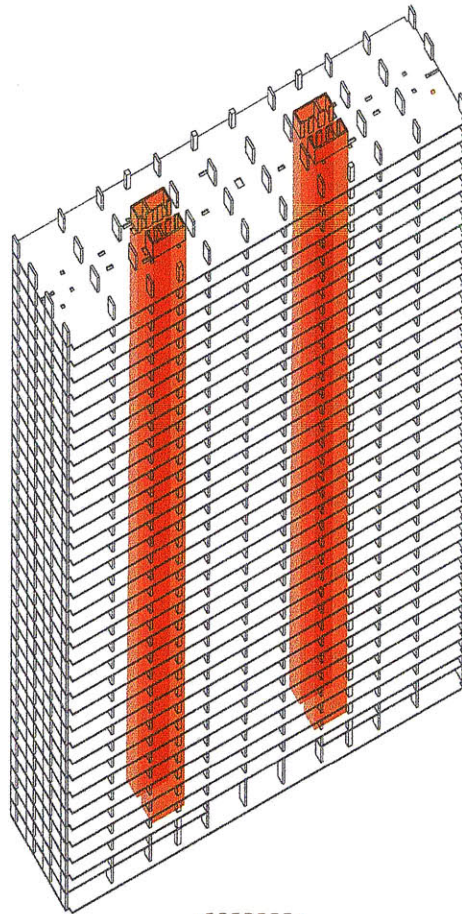
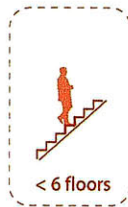
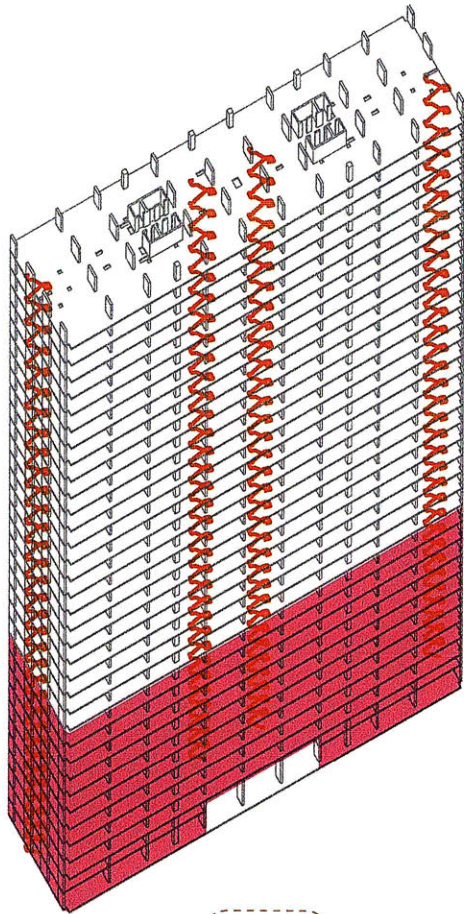
GaranBar. Roof 'club' and typographic conceit. Roof shape is a 'garan' - symbol that silences letters in thai written language. New ovoid volume sits in the 3-story difference between two buildings.

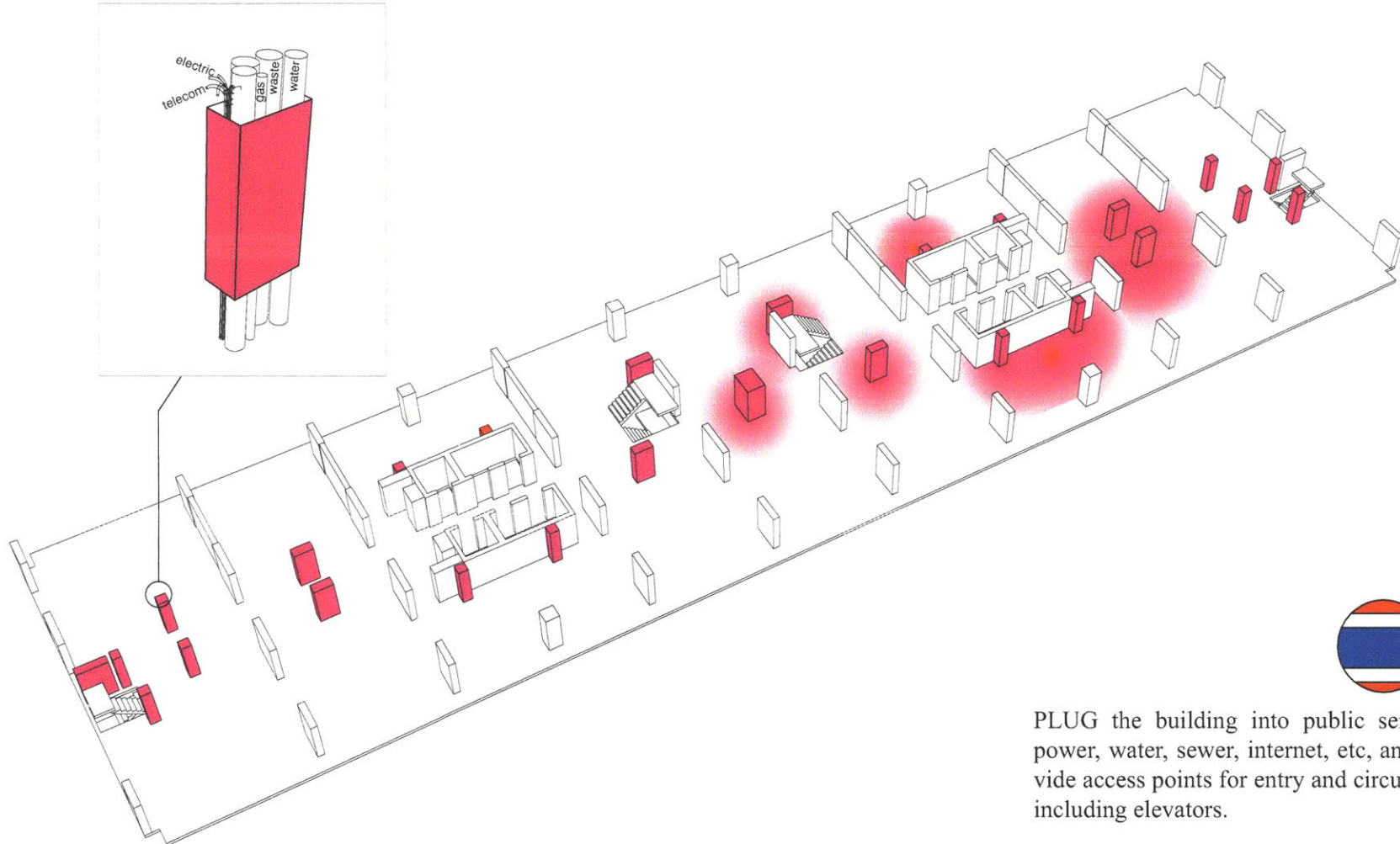




PROTECT the exposed columns of the unfinished structure. Prevent rain from penetrating porous concrete, which ultimately erodes the steel rebar.

PROJECT the 'ghost' with the protective roof by following the contours of the unfinished structure. At night, this roof is lit to create an icon of populist reclamation - a beacon that provides a physical reminder of the 1997 crash.





PLUG the building into public services: power, water, sewer, internet, etc, and provide access points for entry and circulation, including elevators.

To minimize initial government investment, activate only one or two elevators. The occupation of the building will potentially occur as a series of 5-floor 'zones', with stair and ramp access utilized within the zones.

STRATEGY / INCUBATE

SWEAT EQUITY

In order for the reclamation of the ghost building to take root, the project will need a set of core agents, invested in the building from the bottom up.

Some of these may already exist on the site - in the form of welders and carpenters. In addition, a collective of 'weavers' is needed to create custom partitions from discarded fabrics.

The entrance level could also act as a political incubator, becoming a local meeting point for the Red Shirt faithful. As Chatuckak district is staunchly 'red', the reclamation could act as a rallying point.



CARPENTRY

Construction of wooden frames for enclosure, as well as assembling palettes for green market.



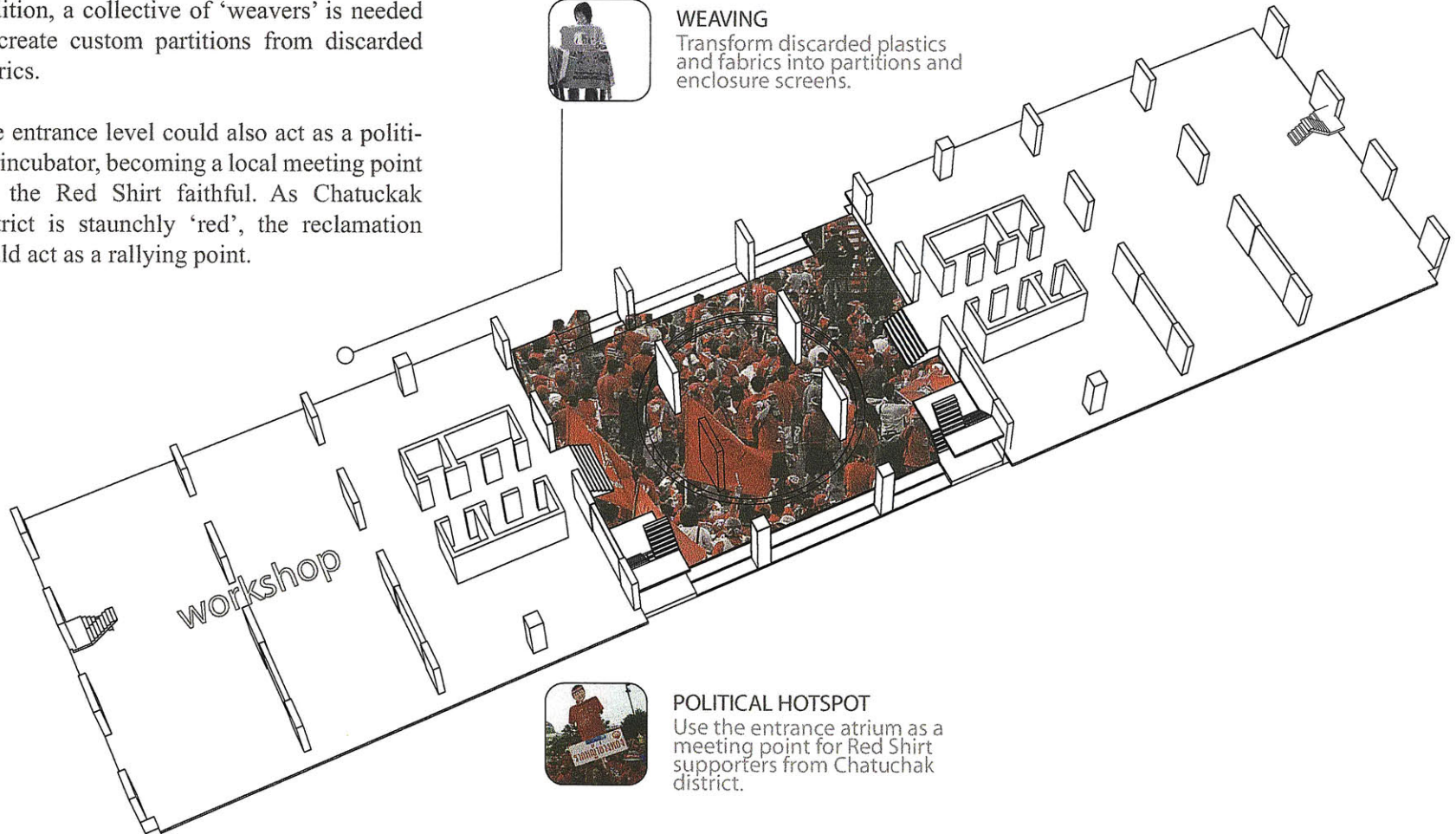
WELDING

Creation of hanging ramps and stairs from sheet metal, reused steel rebar, etc.



WEAVING

Transform discarded plastics and fabrics into partitions and enclosure screens.



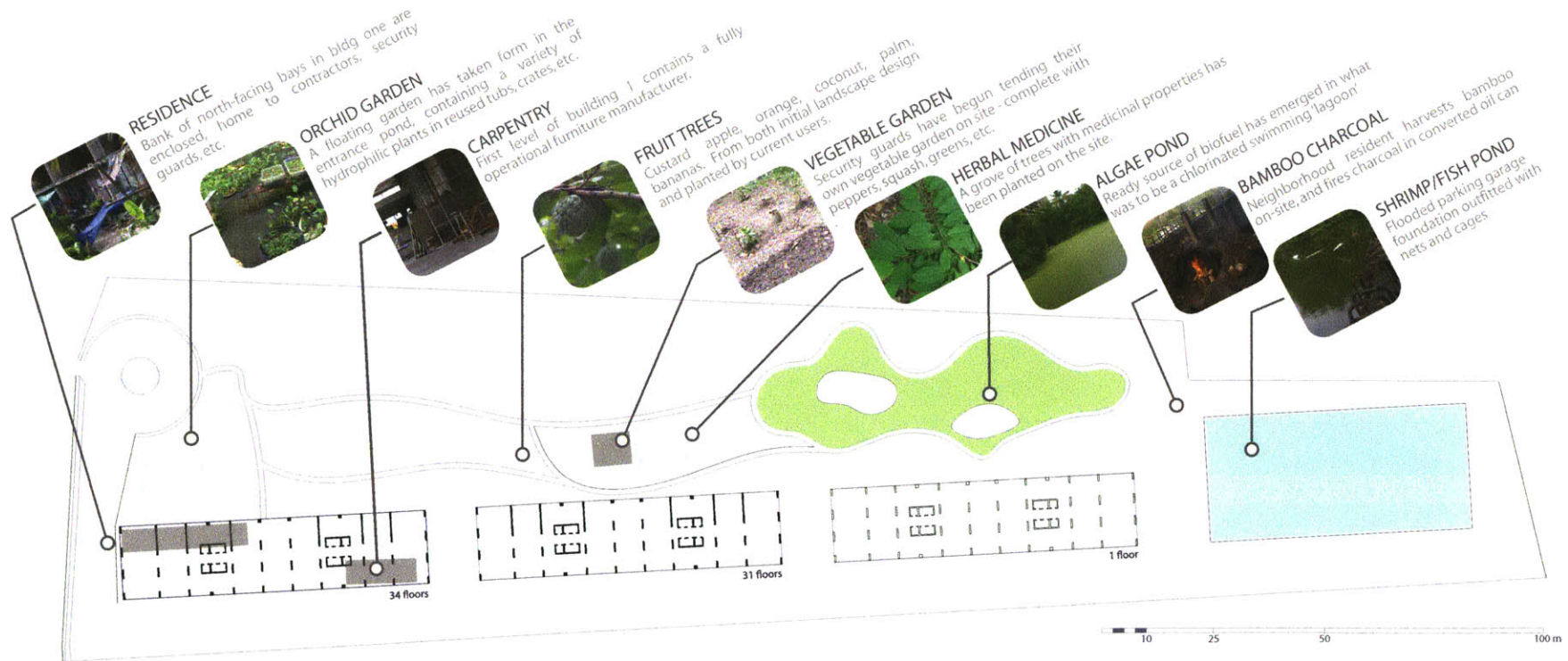
POLITICAL HOTSPOT

Use the entrance atrium as a meeting point for Red Shirt supporters from Chatuchak district.

EXPANDING CONTINGENCY

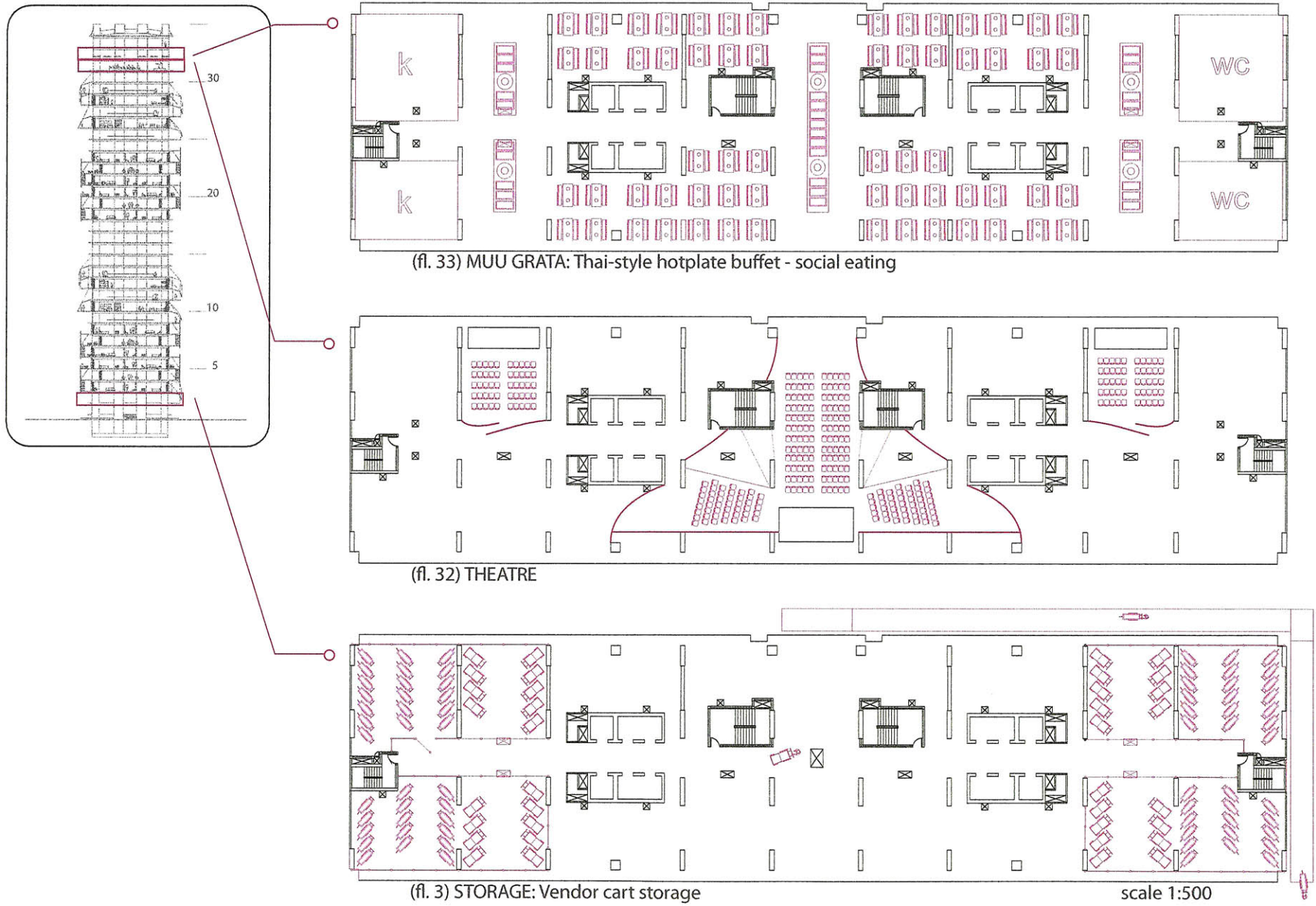
Within reclamation strategy, examine possibility of incorporating or expanding current uses of the 'abandoned' project. These uses include harvesting of many forms: fruits, vegetables, herbs, fish, biofuel - perhaps a carrying forward of a new vision of 'Natural Place' is in order.

This focus on contingency is a deliberate anti-masterplan, and mirrors the contingent - or dynamic - city within the formally developed infrastructure of Bangkok.

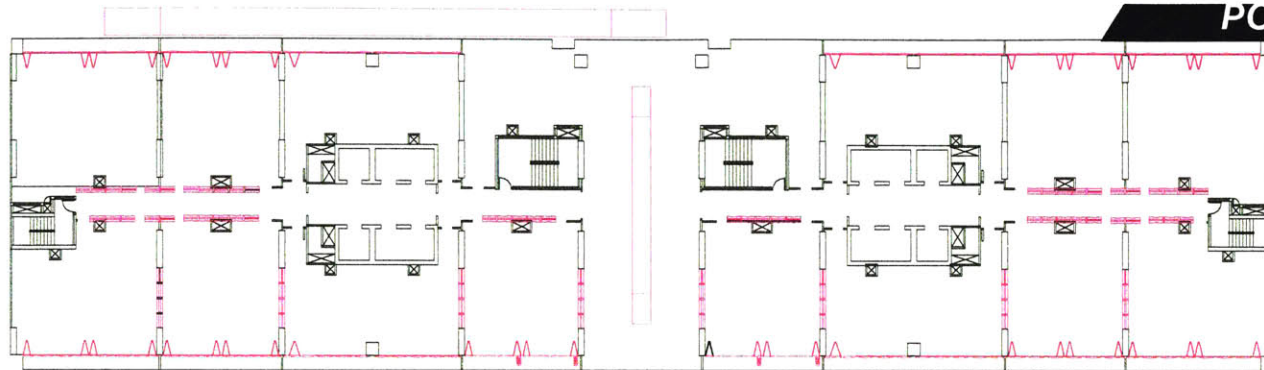




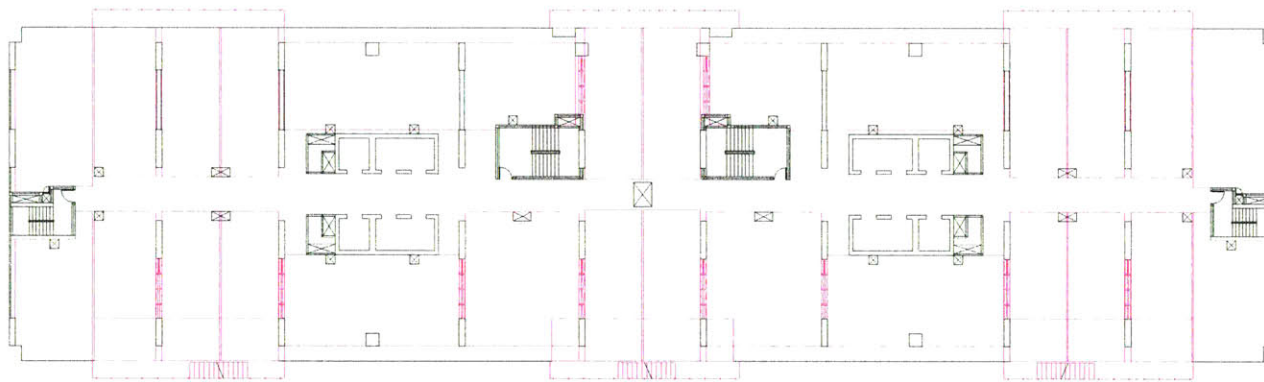
STRATEGY / POPULATE



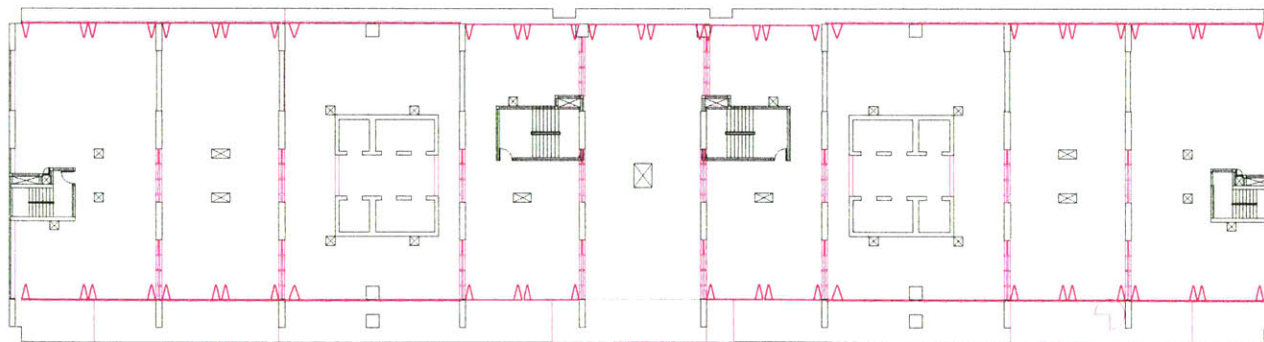
POPULATE STRATEGY



(fl. 3) DORM: typical (w/ central study public)

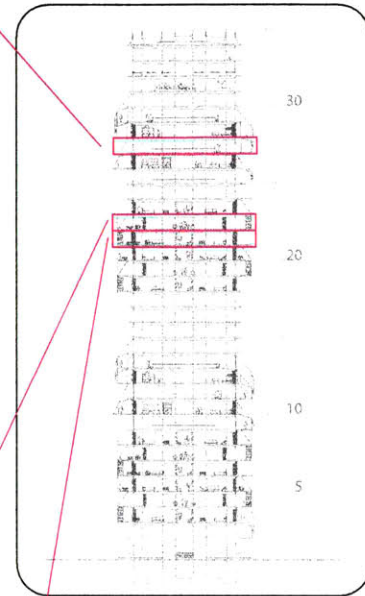


(fl. 22) SHOPHOUSE: typical shopping street



(fl. 21) SHOPHOUSE: typical living floor

scale 1:500

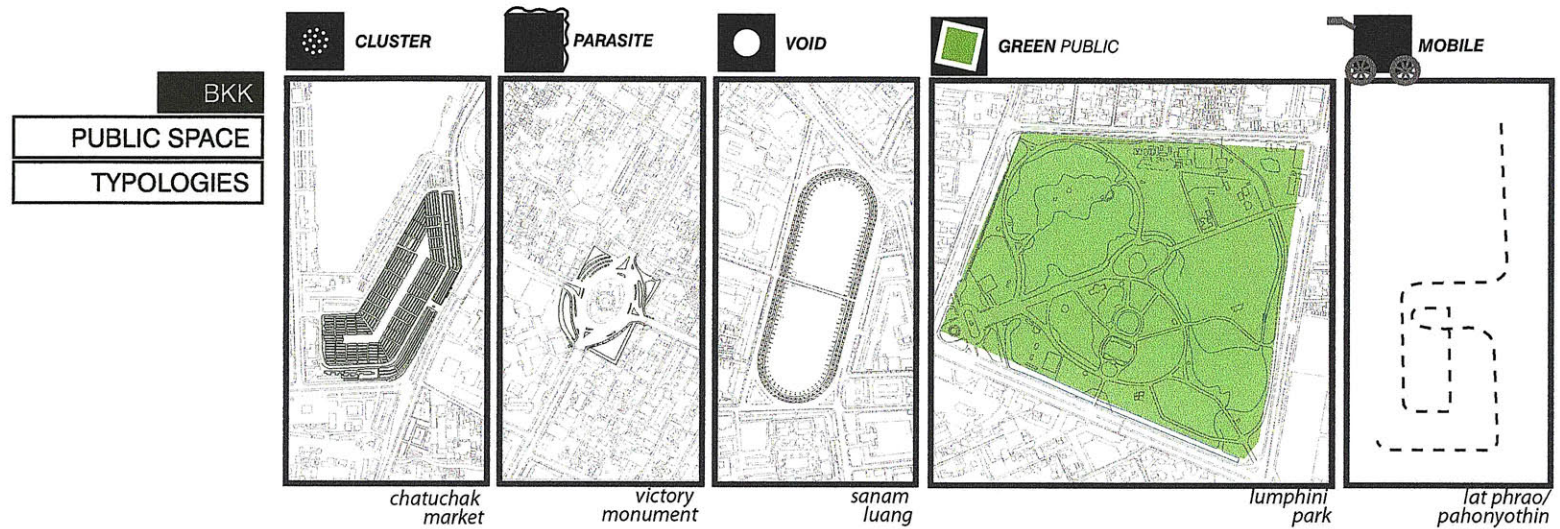


POPULATE the building with program suitable for the surrounding district.

Primary amongst these needs are student housing, and storefront space for the growing Chatuchak population.

Also included (*opposite page*) are social spaces (theatre, muu grata) as well as much needed storage space for vendor carts.

STRATEGY / PUBLIC-ize

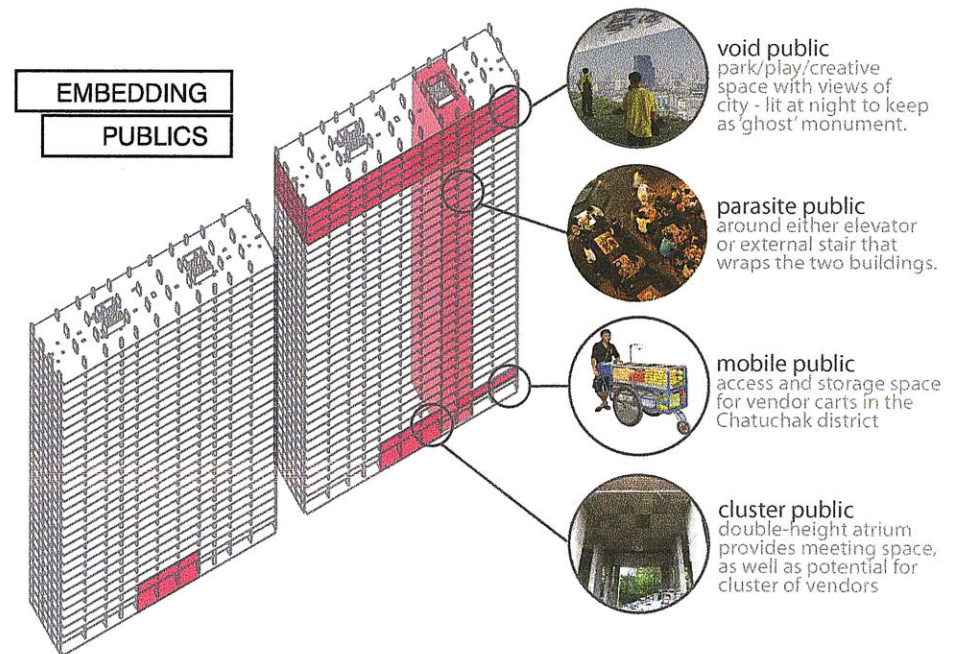


VERTICAL URBANISM

This reclamation project attempts to embed some of the typologies of public spaces that exist at the urban scale of Bangkok into the ghost tower.

Whether a cluster - typified by the collection of stalls found at the nearby weekend market - a parasite, a void, a green, or public on wheels, the reclamation project strives to interpret these keys to the vitality of Bangkok into the tower.

This attempt is to take the horizontal city vertical, creating a new type of high-rise in Bangkok.



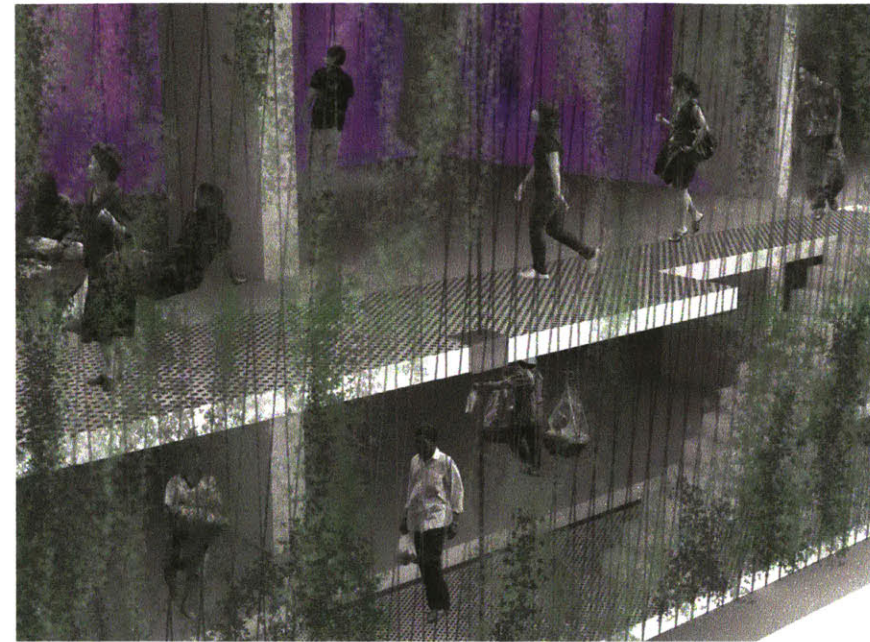
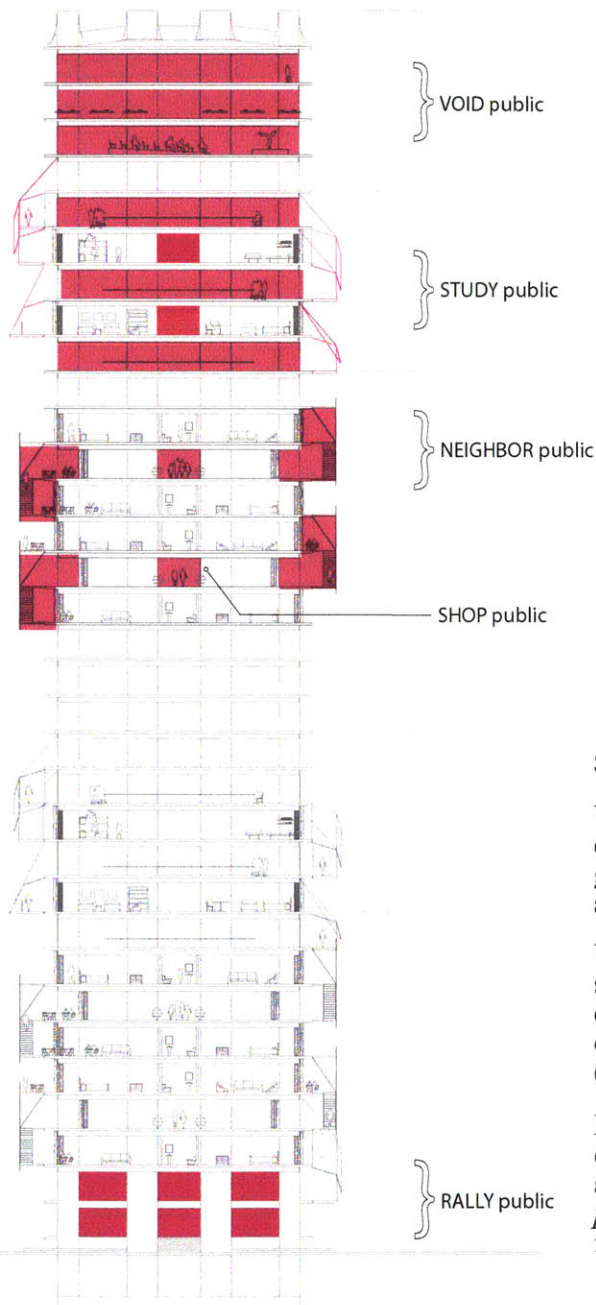


fig. 3.5.1 Rendering of *neighbor public*

SCALE OF PUBLICS

When seeding the ghost building with embedded publics, some thought should be given to the variety of scale of these public areas.

Working top to bottom in the building section shown (*left*), the top floors are left almost completely open - an aerial *void public*, containing space for collective activity (theater, eating, observation deck/park).

Below that is a 5-floor dormitory zone, with each floor having a complete bay as study and food preparation space. These *study publics* are linked by hanging ramps - creating a circuit of publics.

The next cluster down is a shophouse zone, which contains two types of publics: shopping publics and *neighbor publics*. The neighbor publics connect living spaces, to the back side of the 'shopping street' - these spaces are meant as communal courtyards, shared between 3 or 4 families.

Last, the entrance atrium could become a *rally public*, a place of congregation and incubation of political strategy.

INTERVENTION

4

INTERVENTION / FABRIC

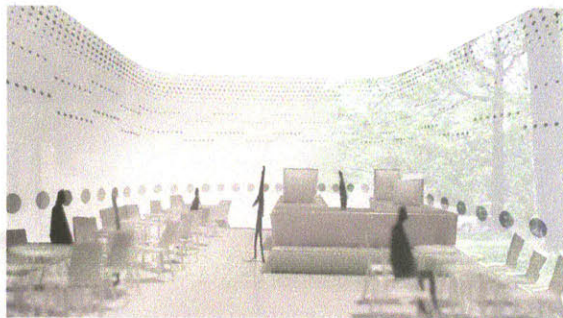


fig. 4.1.1
PETRA BLAISSE
Schematic curtain design for
Toledo Glass Pavilion

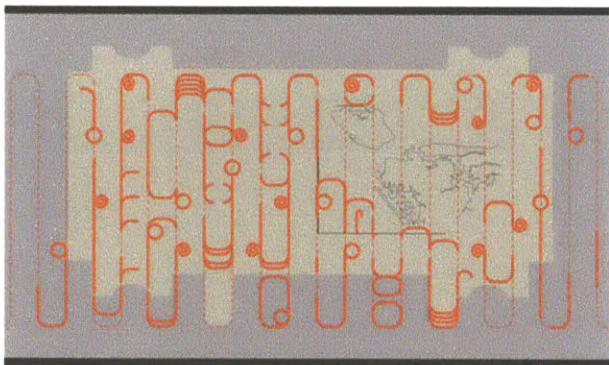


fig. 4.1.2
WW ARCHITECTURE
Curtain partition proposal for
Queens Museum of Art

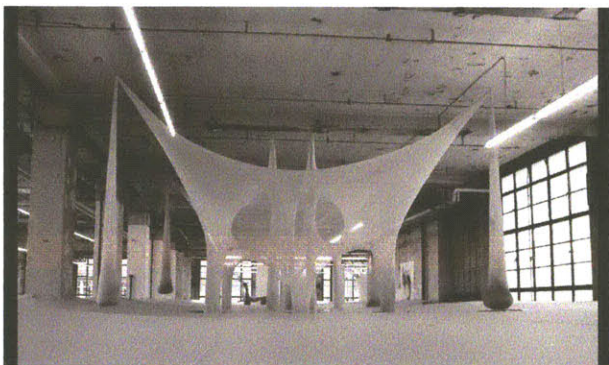


fig. 4.1.3
ERNESTO NETO
Fabric installation at Rome
Museum of Contemporary Art

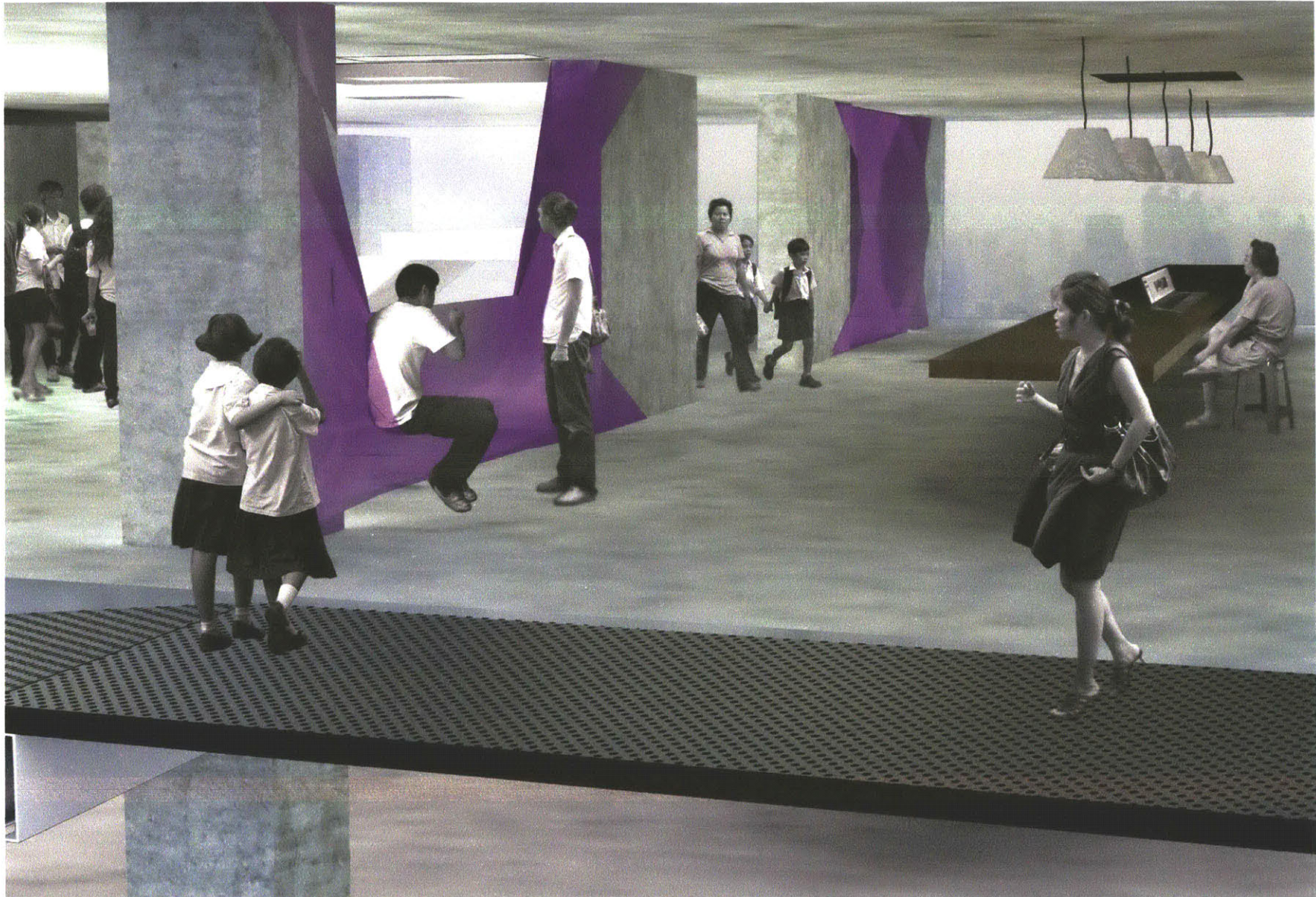


fig. 4.1.4 Render of student public with fabric partitions

INTERVENTION FABRIC



fig. 4.1.5 Material concept

The proposal for a lightweight, fabric system to aid in the rapid, negotiated partition and inhabitation of the ghost building reflects the transitional city within Bangkok. The scene on the left is a typical construction site facade; in fact, the green scrim was for years the camouflage worn by unfinished projects.



fig. 4.1.6 Partition concept

The image to the left was taken outside the Lat Phrao subway stop, near the case study ghost building. The framework typifies the semi-formal segment of the build environment in Bangkok, with fabric walls, steel tube frame, and shared plastic sheet roof.

This is claimed space, a bay for each agent. The market follows the curve of a highway on-ramp, and emerges bi-weekly.

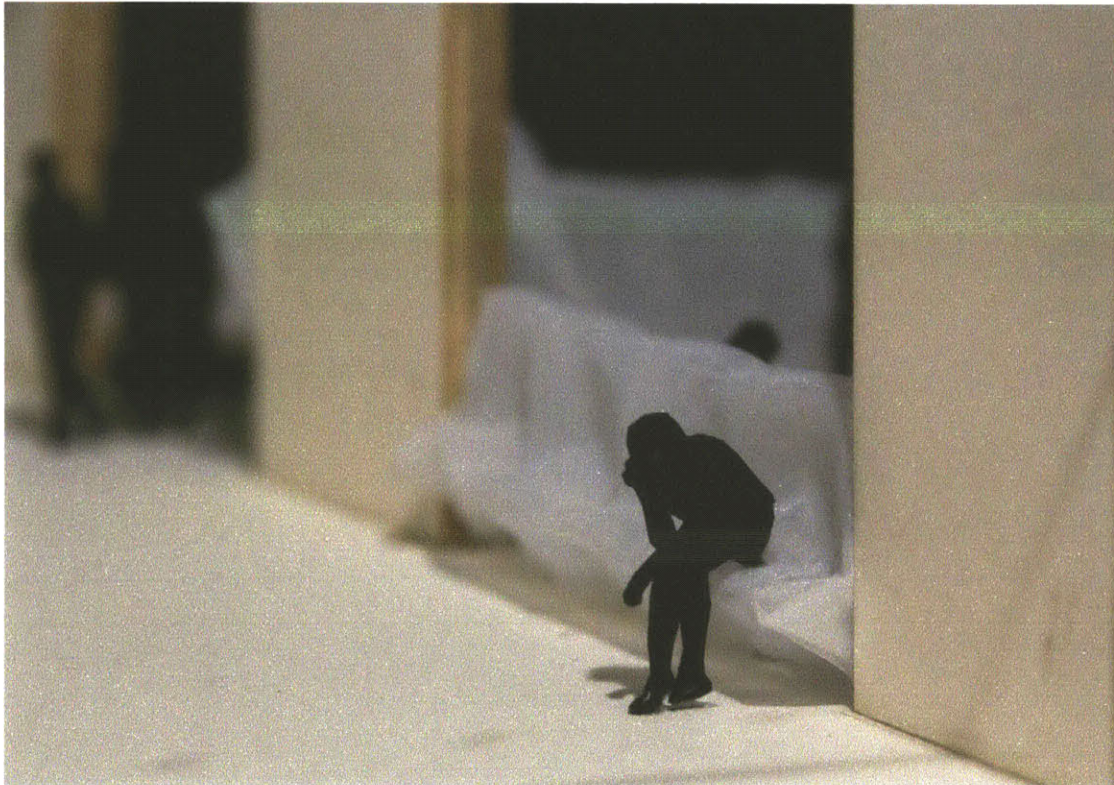
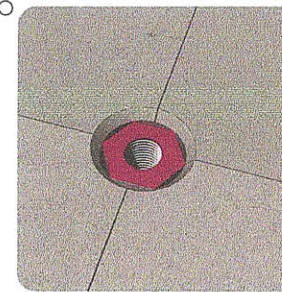
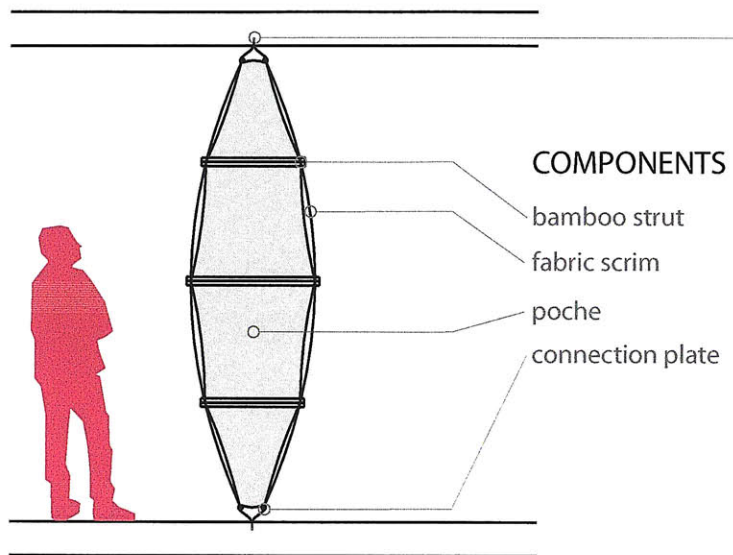


fig. 4.1.7 Model detail of fabric interior - bench

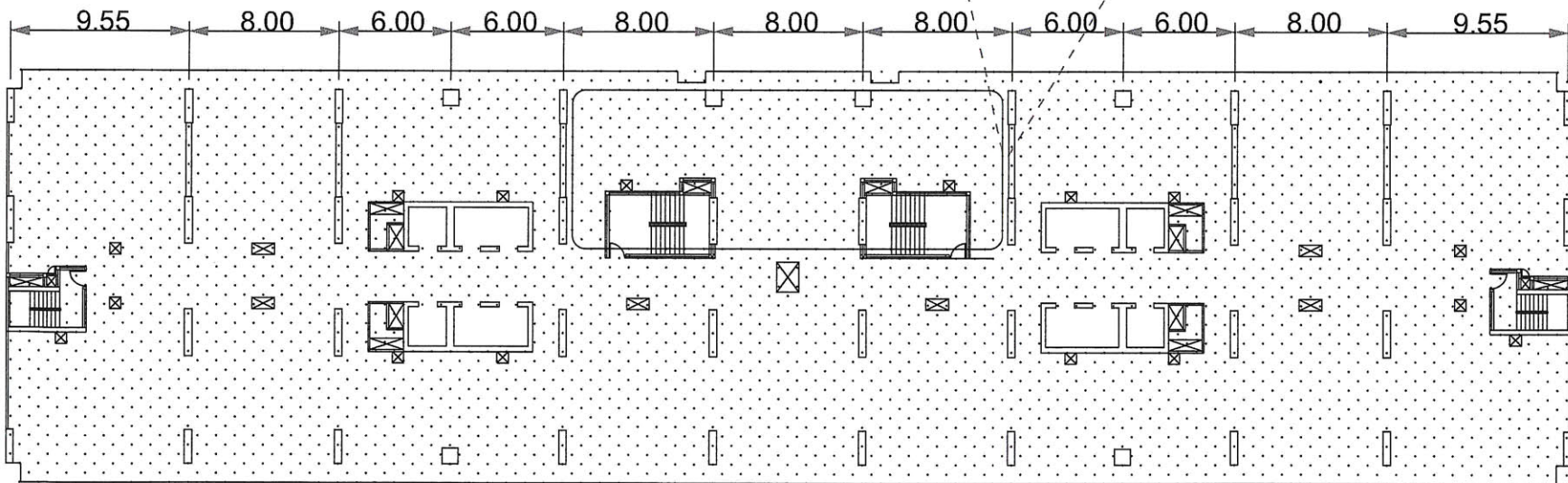


fig. 4.1.8 Model detail of fabric interior - translucent partition with ribs

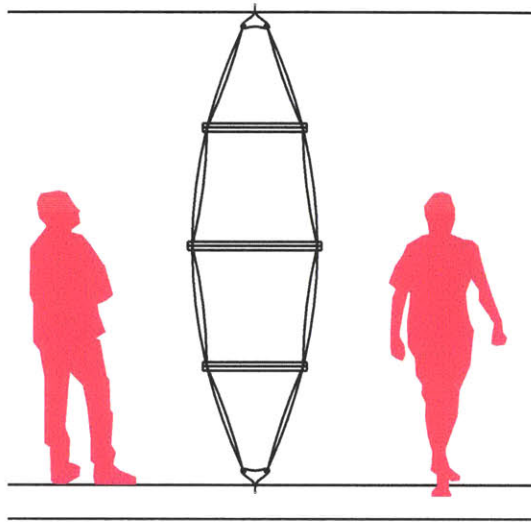
INTERVENTION FABRIC



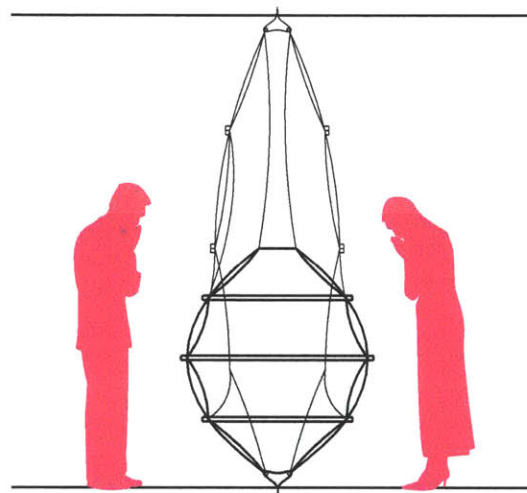
COUNTER-GRID
 Sunken bolts create a 1m x 1m diagonal grid of anchor points. This allows the dimension of fabric enclosure to remain fluid, at least for the early period of negotiation of space allocation and subdivision.



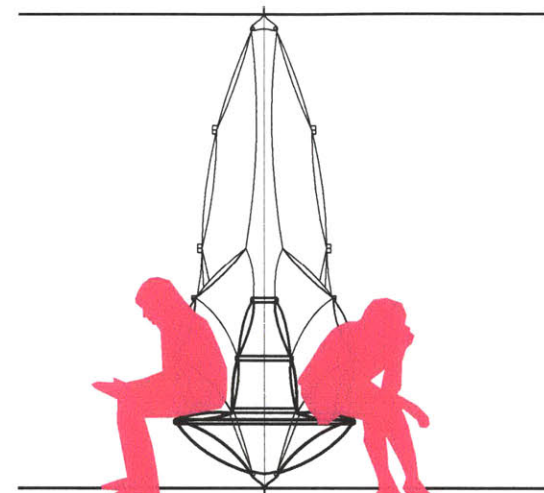
typical partition



storefront counter

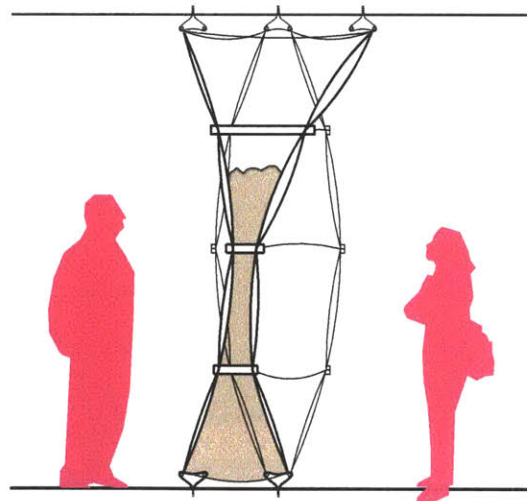


bench

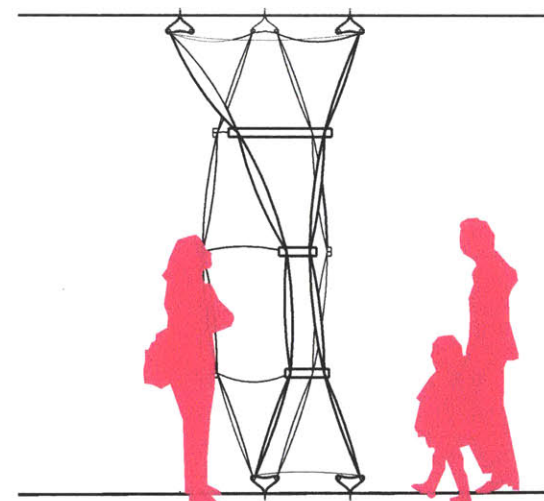


PERFORMATIVE SECTIONS

The fabric sections on this page show potential configurations of the partition system, which respond to varying programmatic conditions within the building.

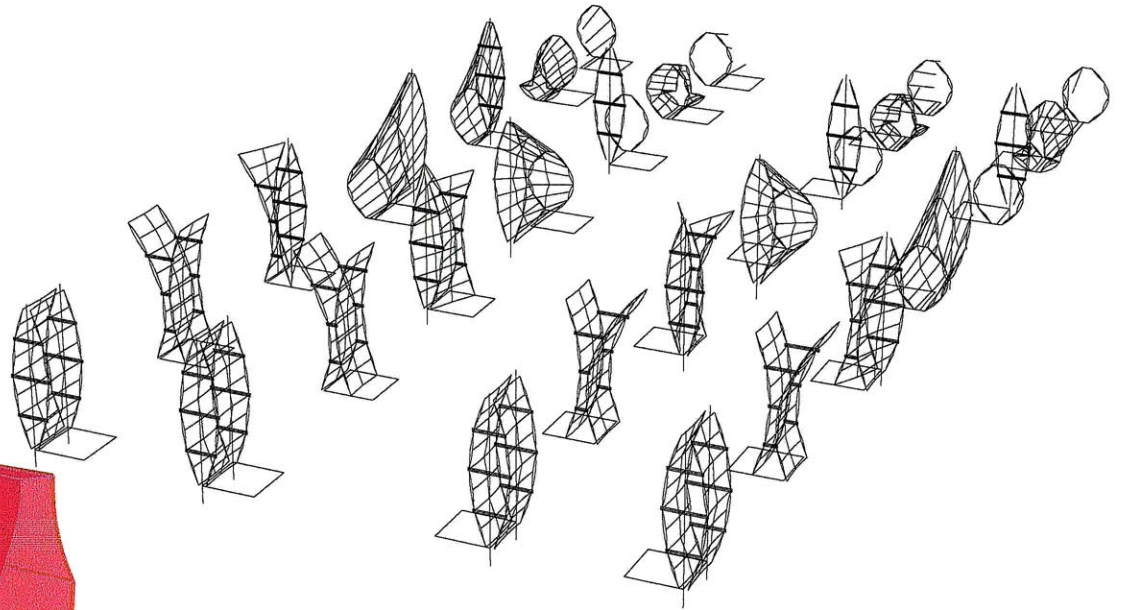
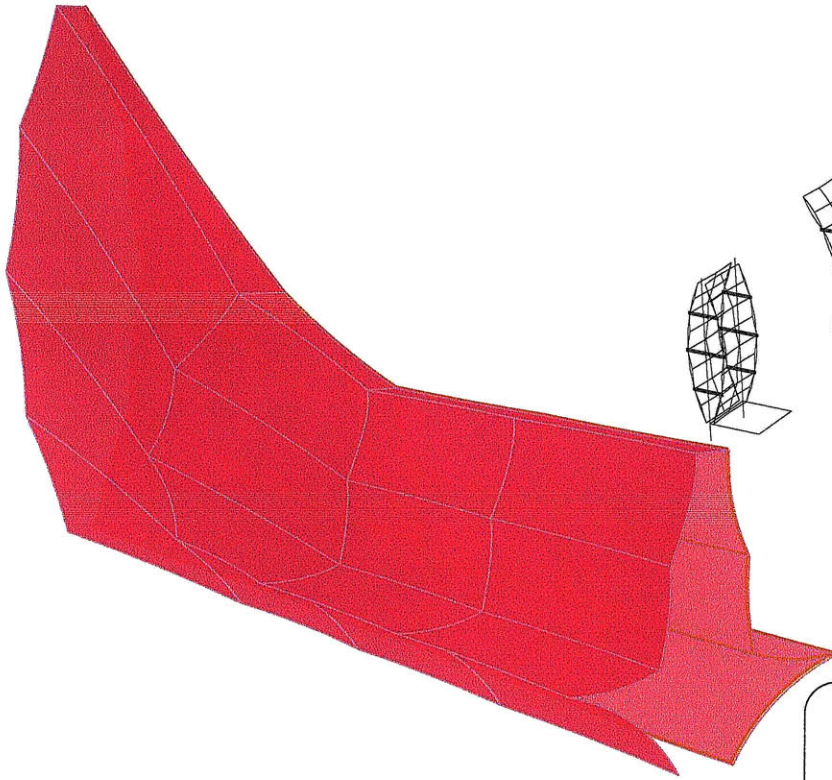


growing wall



inverted (storage)

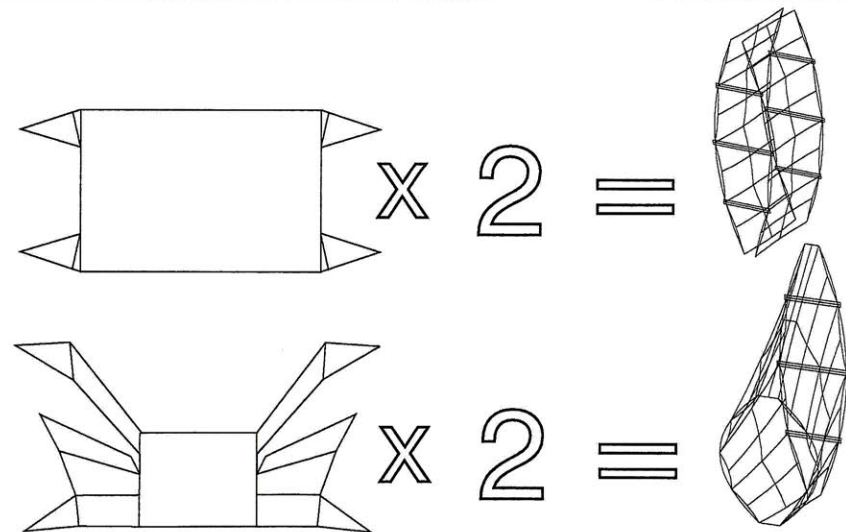
INTERVENTION / FABRIC INTERIOR



small
agents



weaver



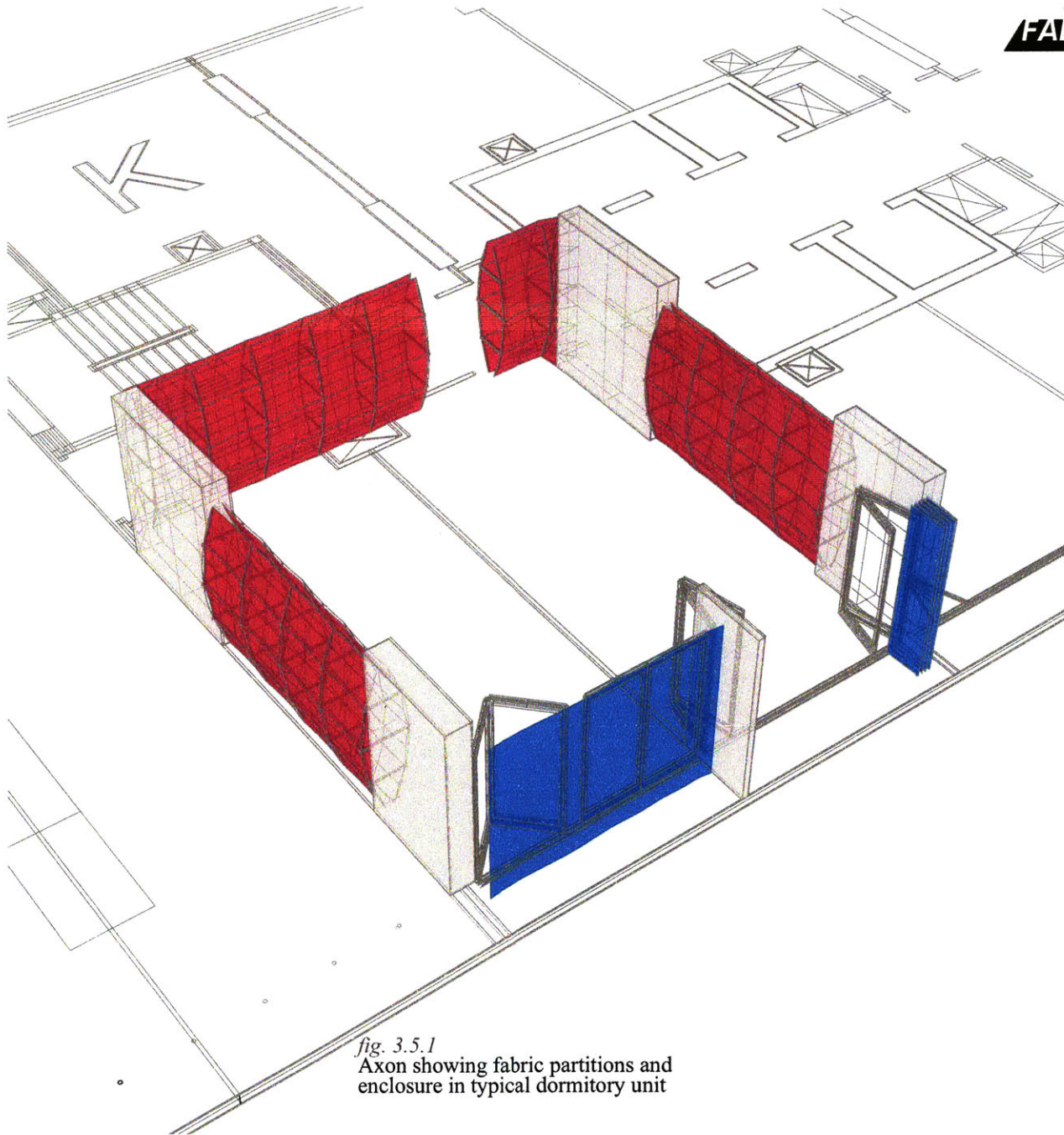


fig. 3.5.1
Axon showing fabric partitions and
enclosure in typical dormitory unit

WRAPPED IN FABRIC

In addition to the interior fabric partitions, the units are enclosed with up to three light-weight layers.

These layers are: outer rain screen; opaque privacy screen; mosquito mesh framed in wooden, accordion doors. Just as the partitions, the enclosure layers are fabricated on site from reclaimed material.

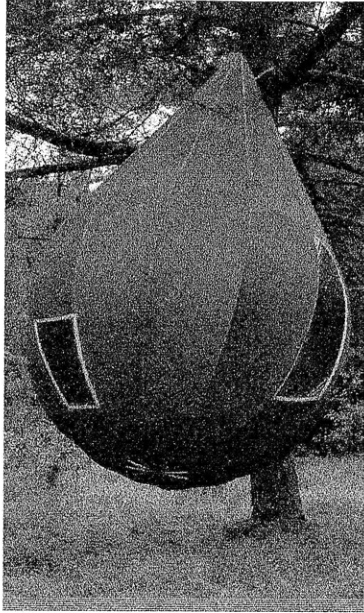


fig. 4.2.1
DRE VAPENAAR
Treetent, 1998
Originally designed for tree-sitting activists.

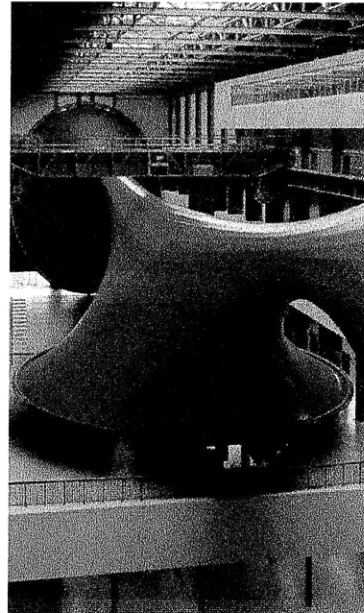


fig. 4.2.2
ANISH KAPOOR
Marsyas, 2002
Installation in the Turbine Hall of the Tate Modern, London

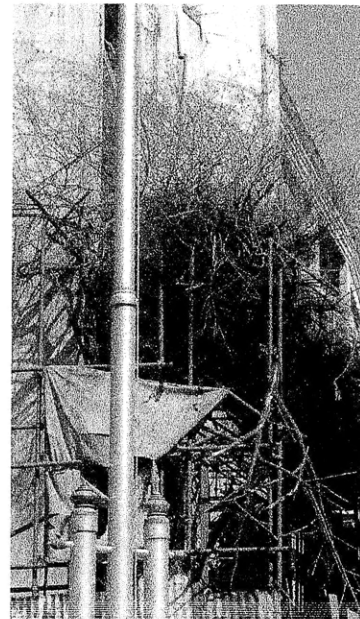


fig. 4.2.3
SCAFFOLDING
Aging steel tube scaffolding transforming into living trellis, Bangkok.

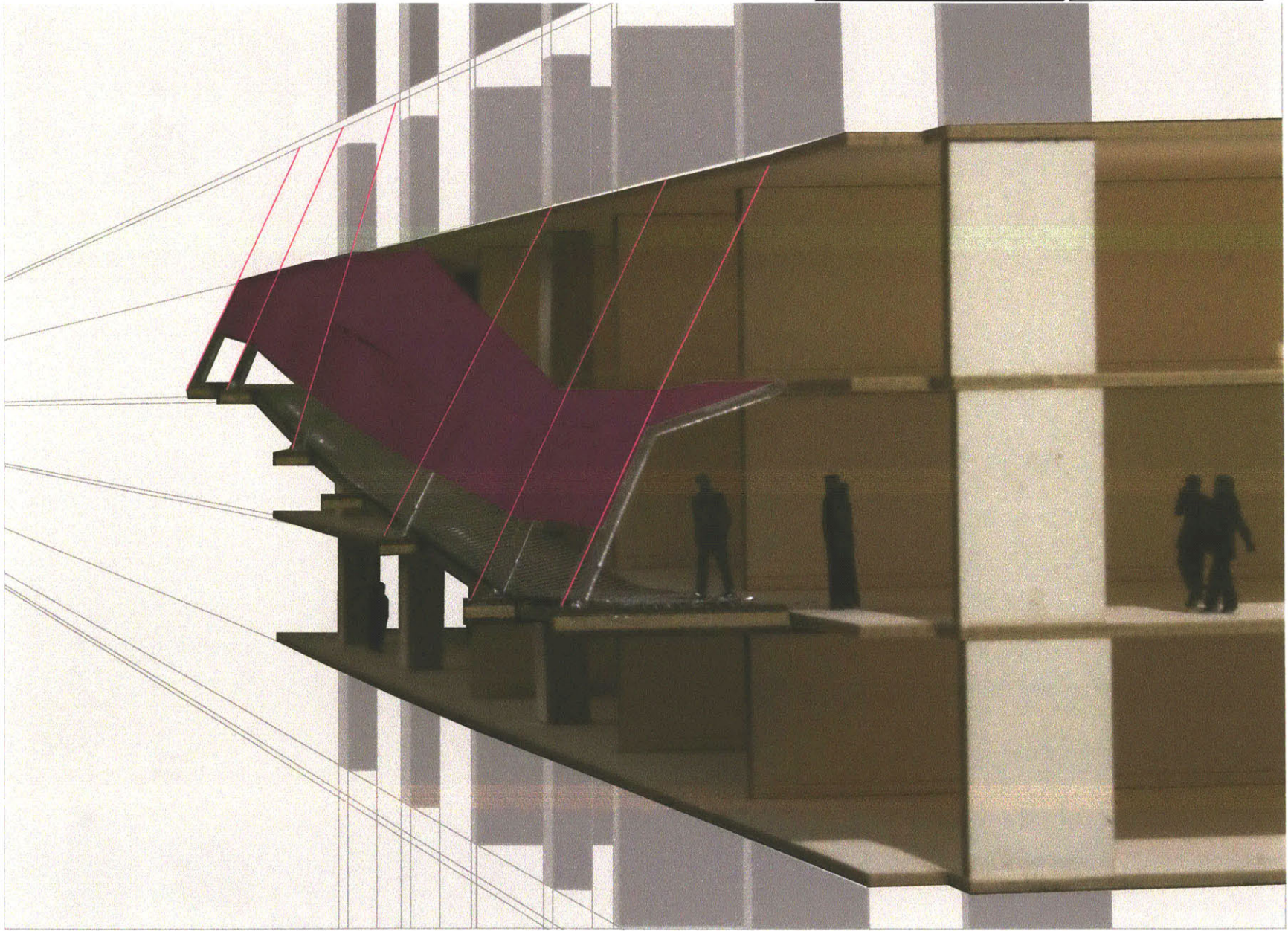
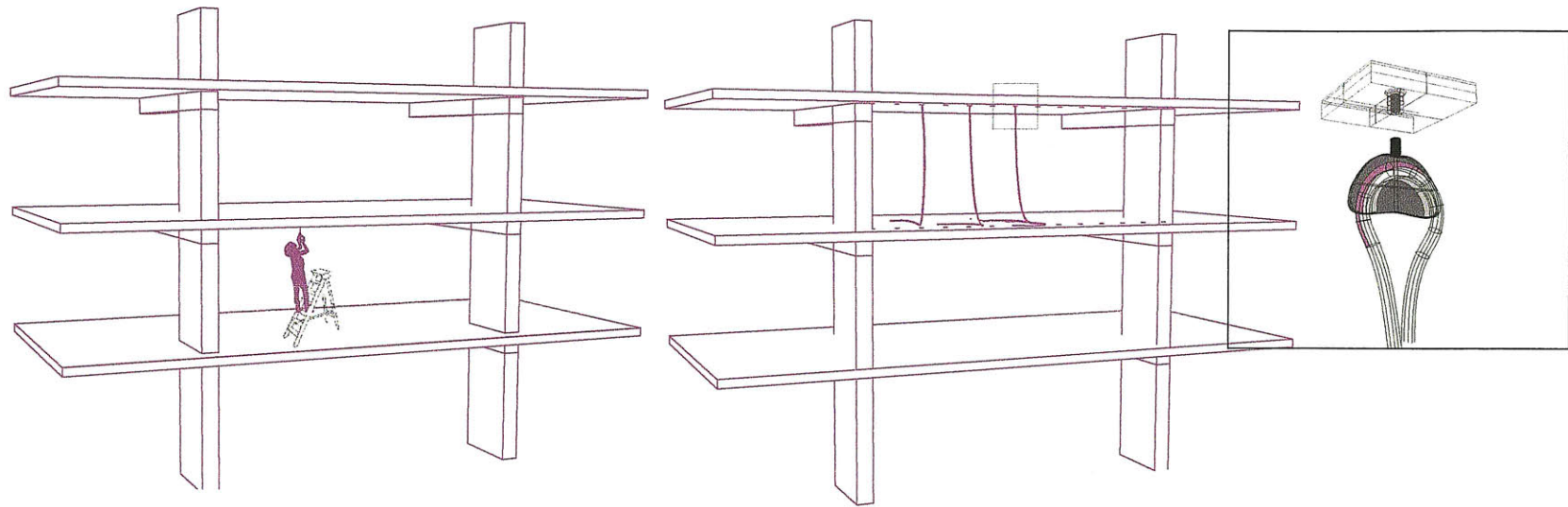


fig. 4.2.4 Hanging ramp model detail, highlighting rainscreen and tension cable supports

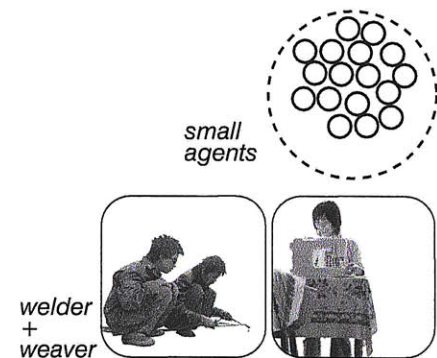
INTERVENTION / HANGING RAMP



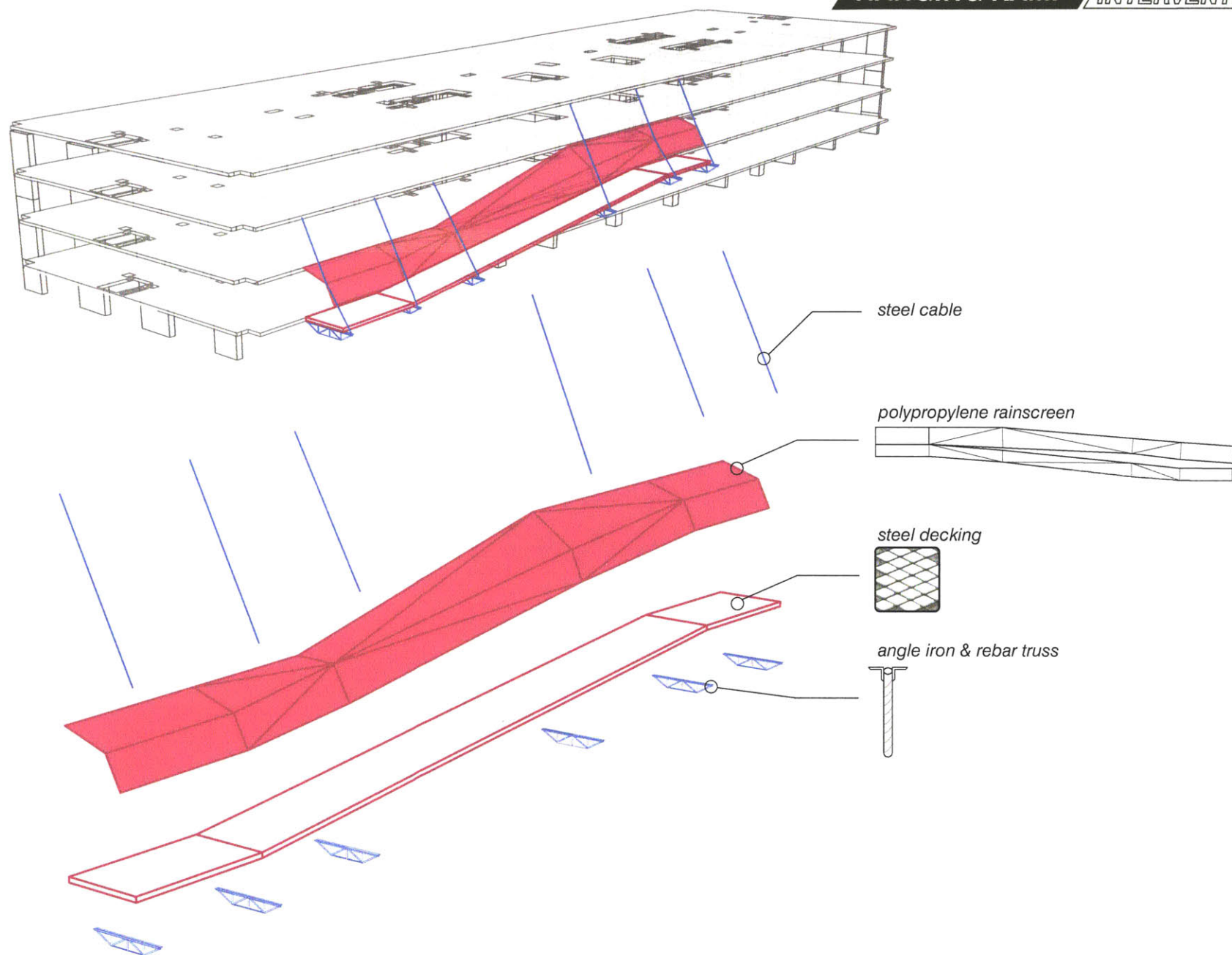
CONSTRUCTION

The diagram above illustrates the construction sequence for the hanging ramp: first, place anchor into concrete slab/beam; second, hang steel cable from anchors; third, attach to support trusses.

The components of the ramp (*opposite*) facilitate on-site fabrication. The support trusses are made from welding standard steel angle to salvaged rebar, while the rainscreen is sewn from reused plastic.



HANGING RAMP / INTERVENTION



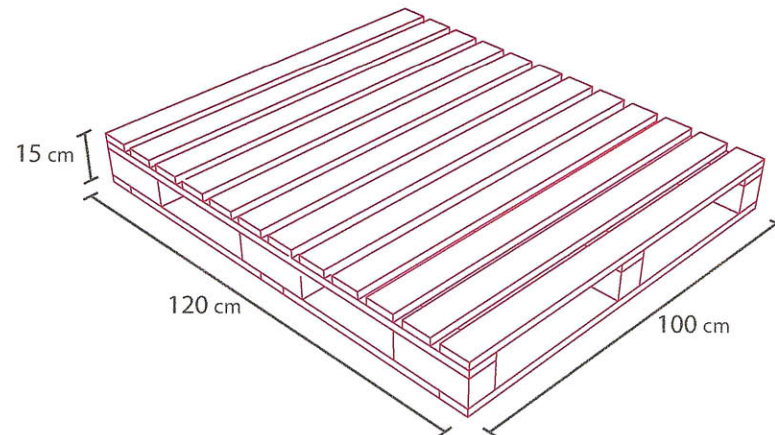
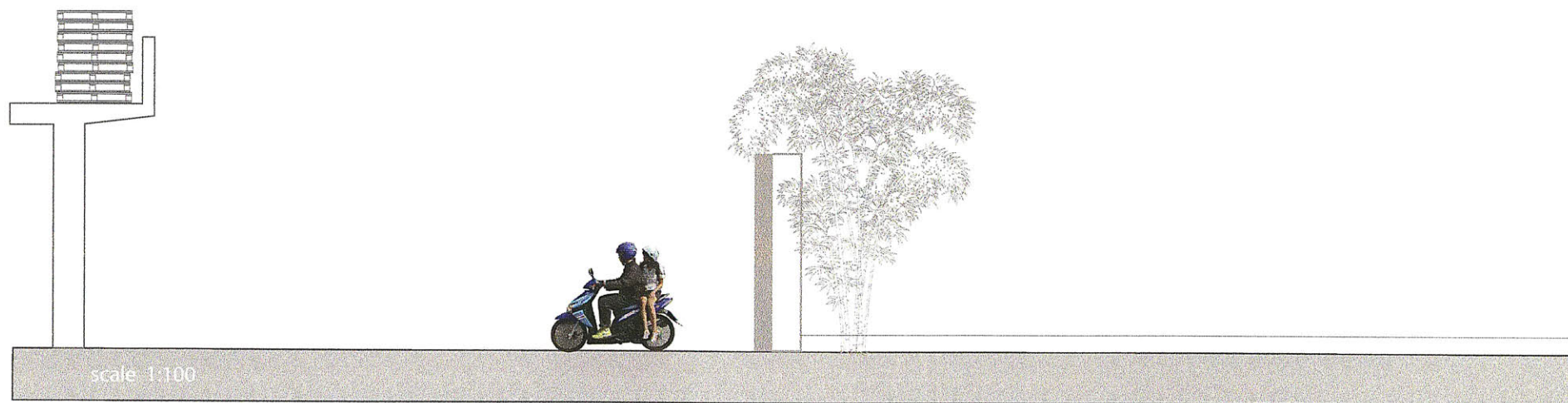
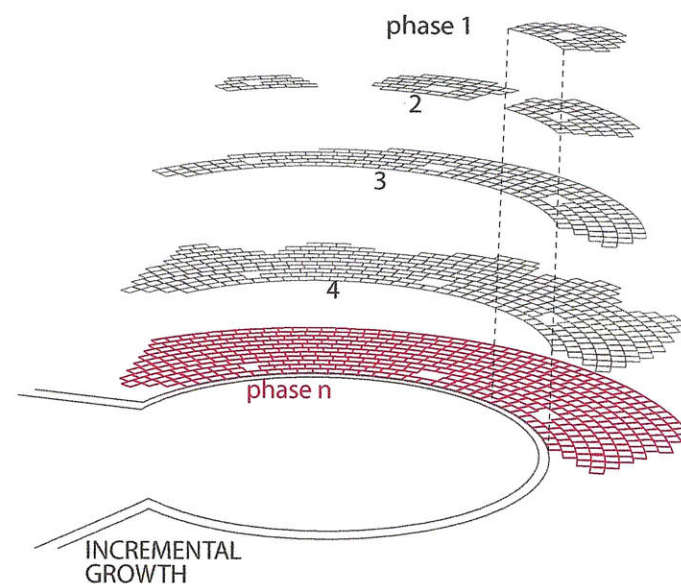
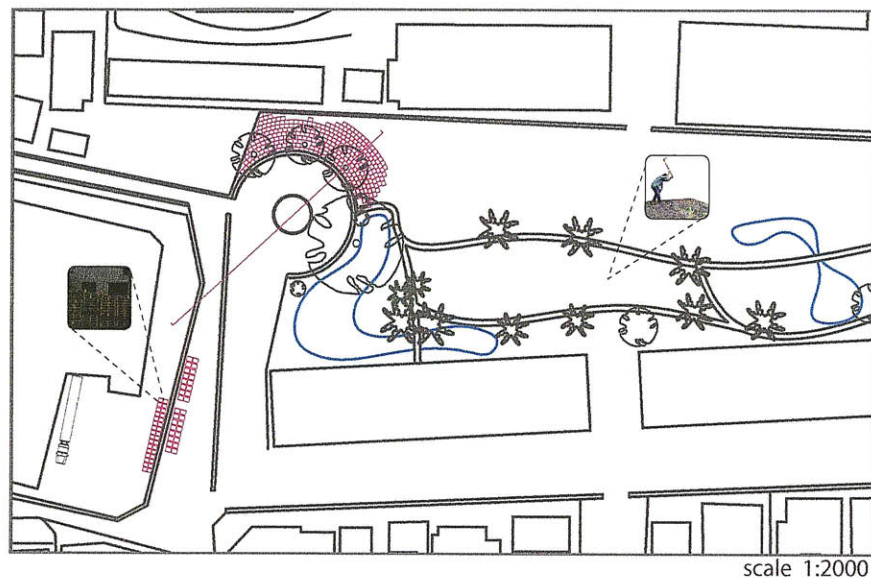




fig. 4.1.3 Render of shaded produce market, which radiates outward from original entrance cul-de-sac

INTERVENTION GREEN MARKET

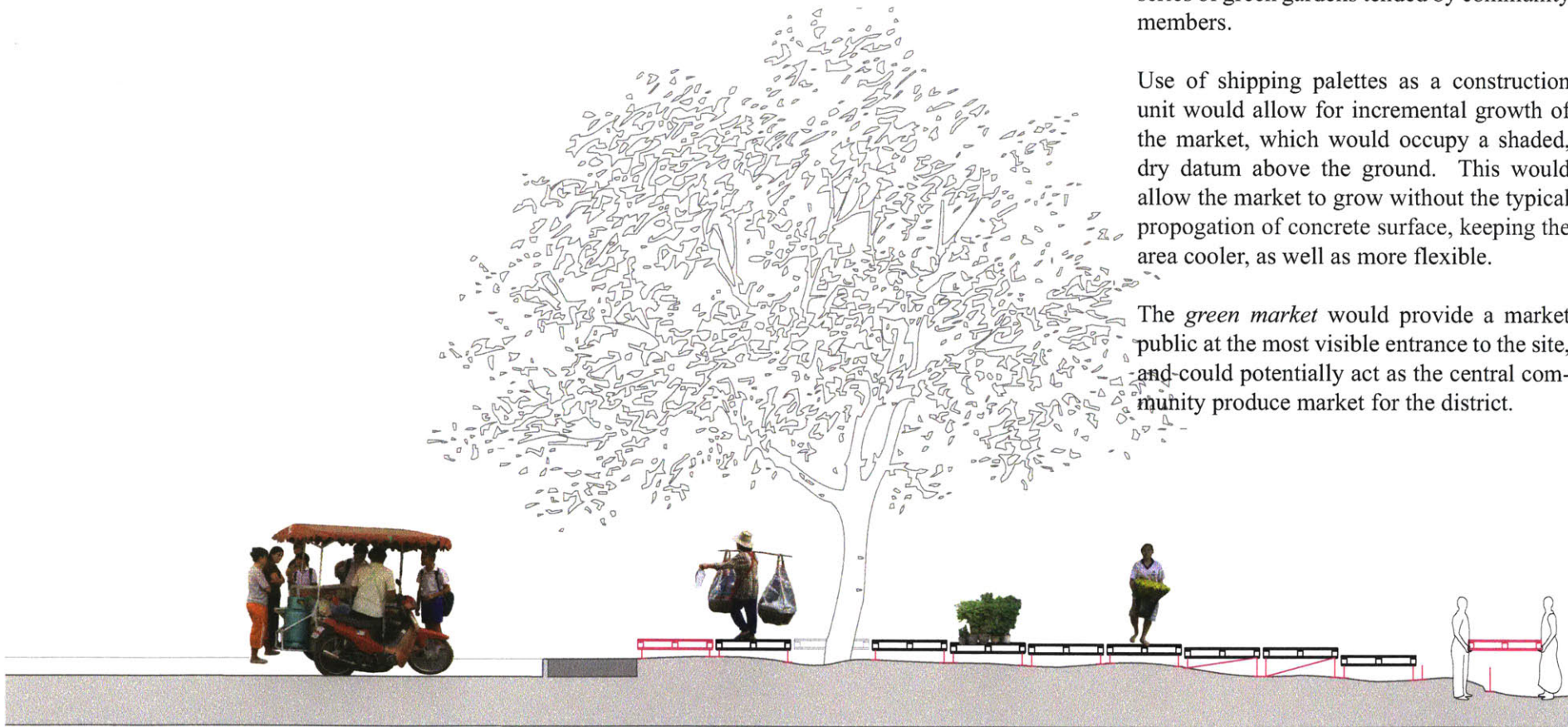


GREEN MARKET / INTERVENTION

The *green market* takes advantage of several existing amenities: first, the abundant shade provided by trees that ring what had been designed as the drop-off cul-de-sac; second, the ever-replenishing supply of wooden shipping palettes to be gleaned from the adjacent loading dock of the Big C supermarket; third, adjustable steel 'feet' from abandoned scaffolding on site; fourth, a series of green gardens tended by community members.

Use of shipping palettes as a construction unit would allow for incremental growth of the market, which would occupy a shaded, dry datum above the ground. This would allow the market to grow without the typical propagation of concrete surface, keeping the area cooler, as well as more flexible.

The *green market* would provide a market public at the most visible entrance to the site, and could potentially act as the central community produce market for the district.



Bibliography

Aasen, Clarence. *Architecture of Siam: A Cultural Historical Interpretation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition. London and New York: Verso, 1991.

Askew, Marc. *Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Beck, Ulrich. *Power in the Global Age*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2005

Beck, Ulrich. *Risk Society: towards a new modernity*. London: Sage Publications, 1992

Callahan, William A. *Imagining Democracy: Reading "The Events of May" in Thailand*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998.

Colquhoun, Alan. "Thoughts on Riegl", *Oppositions*, Vol. 25 (Fall 1982), pp.79-83

Connors, Michael K. *Democracy and National Identity in Thailand*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003

Dovey, Kim. "Memory, Democracy and Urban Space: Bangkok's 'Path to Democracy'", *Journal of Urban Design*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 265-282, 2001

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Urban Sphere*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989.

Hertzfeld, Michael. "Spatial Cleansing: Monumental Vacuity and the Idea of the West", *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 11, No. 1/2, pp. 127-149, 2006

Janson, Alban. *Le Corbusier :Unite d'habitation, Marseille*. Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges, 2007.

Jenkins, David. *Unité d'habitation, Marseilles :Le Corbusier*. London: Phaidon Press, 1993.

Koolhaas, Rem. *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan*. New York: The Monacelli Press, 1994.

Neumeyer, Fritz & Rogier, Francesca. "OMA's Berlin: The Polemic Island in the City" *Assemblage*, No. 11 (Apr., 1990), pp. 36-53

Oswalt, Philipp, ed. *Shrinking Cities: Volume 2 – Interventions*. Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2006.

Peleggi, Maurizio. "Purveyors of modernity? European artists and architects in turn-of-the-century Siam", *Asia Europe Journal*, Vol. 1, pp. 91-101, 2003

Peleggi, Maurizio. *Lords of Things: The Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Reynolds, Craig (ed). *National Identity and Its Defenders: Thailand Today*, revised edition. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 2002.

Riegl, Alois. "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin", *Oppositions*, Vol. 25 (Fall 1982), pp.21-52

Sejima, Kazuyo. *Kazuyo Sejima in Gifu*. Barcelona : Actar, 2001

Sejima, Kazuyo. *MHS*. Barcelona : Actar, 2001

Sivaraksak, Sulak. *Siam in Crisis*. Bangkok: Komol Keemthong Foundation, 1980.

Bibliography (cont.)

Smithson, Alison, Ed. Team 10 Meetings: 1953-1981. New York, NY: Rizzoli, 1991.

Smithson, Alison, Ed. Team 10 Primer. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968.

Tambiah, Stanley. World Conqueror and World Renouncer. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Ungers, Koolhaas, Riemann, Kollhoff, Ovasca. "Cities Within the City: Proposals by the Sommer Akademie for Berlin". Lotus International, No. 19 (1978), pp.82-97.

Vattimo, Gianni. The End of Modernity. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1988.

Winichakul, Thongchai. Siam mapped : a history of the geo-body of a nation. Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press, c1994.

Winichakul, Thongchai. "The Quest for 'Siwilai': A Geographical Discourse of Civilizational Thinking in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Siam", Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 59, No. 3 (Aug., 2000), pp. 528-549

Image Credits

- figure 0.1.1* <http://www.flickr.com/photos/11401580@N03/3426816348/>
- figure 4.1.1* <http://www.insideoutside.nl>
- figure 4.1.2* <http://www.wwarchitecture.com>
- figure 4.1.3* <http://www.flickr.com/photos/gabain/2126202837/>
- figure 4.2.1* <http://www.safetyissues.org/safe/sf033.htm>
- figure 4.2.2* <http://www.db-artmag.com/en/52/feature/memory-and-sculpture---a-studio-visit-with-anish-kapoor/>

APPENDIX

Temporal Design

This strategy considers the fact that the exposed structure, almost completely steel-reinforced concrete, has been given a 15 year window of usefulness in the climate of Bangkok. The temporal design would be liberated by this abbreviated lifespan, and work within the notion of accelerated ruin: using Reigl's understanding of the different manner by which value is ascribed to a monument, the design would accompany a building on a swift march to rubble. Examples here include the temporary creation of a vertical park, a series of open landscapes, traversable by a wrapping ramp, offering the sensation of pilgrimage and ascent to fantastic views of the city; or a centrally located shrine, such as seen in the curious Erawan Shrine beneath the shadow of the SkyTrain now. This temporary shrine would provide a place for ritualistic merit-making, and would become ever-more ornate before being ultimately wiped clean – in short, mandala tower. The creation of an emergent sacred space would then live on in the memory of its faithful caretakers.

Infrastructural Design

This strategy addresses the fact that the initial intent of luxury, high-rise condo living did not prove viable, so perhaps the existing structure should not endeavor once again to house the wealthy, but rather shift its intention toward the improvement of infrastructure and services for the city. First notion is a

vertical water-filtration plant, for a city that, despite its consumerist splendor, has never provided potable municipal water. The river-side location of many ghost towers provides the perfect opportunity to center the function of the Chao Phraya river within urban life.

Monument Design

Already described colloquially as anusoawaree, or 'monuments' to the era of unchecked growth, foreign 'quasi-colonial' investment, and rampant speculation, this strategy is directed toward highlighting the status of monument. The design would therefore call for symbolic utility at most, a visible, cautionary skeleton among a skyline once again littered with the cranes of optimistic developers.

Housing Strategies

This strategy would explore a framework approach to housing, allowing for nuanced and negotiable 'micro-agency' – construction which takes place household by household. This would highlight the intense need for affordable housing in the capital, as well as subverting the original intention of proscribed luxury. The self-built interior structure would consist of a material palette of the city, not imported from other cultural notions of domesticity. Multiple strategies could be undertaken – perhaps the solution is only temporary, perhaps the arrangement solidifies into a formalized community.

Scenario: Royal City

Krung Thep Maha Nakohn, the 'City of Angels', known to the world as Bangkok, was founded in 1782 as palace grounds for the first king, Rama I, of the Chakri dynasty. Its first walls were built from salvaged bricks of the former, sacked capital of Ayutthaya.

Beginning in the mid-1800's, in the context of an encroaching colonial presence in Southeast Asia, the monarchy created a unified Siam, with Bangkok as capital. In the period of modernization that followed, especially under King Chulalongkorn, a massive road-building campaign was undertaken. The city spread inland from the Chao Phraya River along these roads, replacing the network of canals that had been the center of city life, transportation and commerce. Land along these roads was granted as petit palace grounds for members of the ever-expanding royal family. Additional lots were leased to shopkeepers and other elite citizens, funding the monarchy through the Crown Property Bureau (CPB).

The absolute rule of the monarchy ended in 1932 by bloodless coup. Over half the CPB-owned land was nationalized; however, the Crown Property Bureau remained. The CPB fell back into control of the monarchy after WWII, and the Crown's land investments continued to grow all the way through the prosperous 1990's. After the economic crash

in 1997, in an effort to recoup large losses in the real estate market, the CPB attempted to intensify their return on remaining land investment, overseeing a series of large-scale shopping malls in central Bangkok. This garish economic investment continues to erode the monarchy's social capital, undermines their cultural role as keepers of authentic Thai identity, and ultimately threatens the institution of the monarchy.

The Ghost Towers of Bangkok offer visible reminders of a city given over to Western investment and capitalist greed that caused the crisis ten years ago. By assuming control of these derelict buildings, and providing the city with the social programming long lacking in royal-funded projects, the monarchy can begin to repair its tarnished image.

The initial strategy for skinning the ghost buildings consisted of an emphasis on “performative thai-ness”, and the notion of a constructed identity. The recent phenomenon of the yellow shirt in Thailand, which will be elaborated upon below, is full of cultural nuance.

To celebrate King Bhumipol’s 60th year on the throne. Bhumipol was born on a Monday, and yellow is the color related to Monday. Shirts have been promoted not simply as support for the aging King, but as formal attire for the workplace.

The king was photographed in a pink shirt and jacket after a recent visit to the hospital. Apparently, this has sent ripples through the Thai fashion world, with predictions of pink as the new yellow. The phenomenon highlights several issues within Thai culture:

Hierarchy

A cynical view is that the shirts simply reveal the strong hierarchy within Thai society. Once the shirts were deemed ‘office attire’, it became somewhat mandatory to conform. The king, though only a figure-head, and the royal family benefit from the highly visible show of support.

Cult of Royalty

A more sympathetic reading is that Bhumipol is respected and revered – in fact, some believe his public works have made him the most well regarded monarch after Chulalongkorn – and the shirts are true outward signs of affection and support for the venerable king.

Tropicalism + Thai-ness

Another view is the shirt is an attempt to demote the western business suit from its

position as standard formal wear. This is an effort both to re-instate a certain form of ‘thainess’ to formal/business wear, and promote clothing that is far more comfortable in Thailand’s tropical climate.

Energy + Economy

Related to the notion of the cotton shirt as a best option for the tropics, this angle into the phenomenon is most directly related to the field of architecture. The belief is that government officials, responding to the steady rise in energy cost, have been attempting to promote low-cost tactics to ameliorate/curb/ erase the notion of the air-conditioned office as standard practice. The landmark celebration for the king simply provided the opportunity needed to gain a critical mass and solidify the fashion trend.

What is interesting here is the intersection of fashion and energy use, and the central role that royal decree has played in the phenomenon. The ability of the monarchy to sustain its central position in Thai culture, maintained in large part through King Bhumipol’s highly visible public works projects, affects city form and urban development. The issue of historic and current royal land holding will be addressed in another section, though all issues regarding the Chakri dynasty are of course highly interwoven.

FILL Strategy

This strategy will be one that attempts to highlight the interplay between the horizontal and vertical cities of Bangkok. While the 'horizontal city' is typified by informality and market opportunism, the 'vertical city' – the city of planners and developers – tends toward controlled space, space cleansed of informality, with branding and identity strategies working with the profit motive.

The ultimate examination of the project will be to see what spatial characteristics of the horizontal city may be mapped into/upon these ghost towers. As the towers can be reclaimed for a fraction of the initial investment, the economic latitude gives wide berth to experimentation.

RECLAIM Strategy

The overarching reclamation strategy will consist of a series of experiments, analogous to planting seeds, or embedding systems and scripting scenarios that will be allowed to play out in the empty shells. In this manner the reclamation by a parasite program mimics the manner in which environmental elements – rain, humidity, subsoil, plantlife – would overtake the bare structure. Rather than an entropic race toward ruin, however, the growth and form of the parasite program could result in a tower that is truly of Bangkok.

The ghost building may then be activated by this 'urban capillary action', in which the empty structure siphons program from its urban surrounding. I am reminded of the B-Mu project by Francois Roche and R&Sie, where a proposed contemporary art museum in Bangkok was designed with a hydrostatic mesh wrap. This 'magnetic' skin would gather ambient urban dust, enshrouding itself in the smog, a persistent condition for which Bangkok is somewhat infamous.

SCENARIO

ROYAL CITY



Growth: Bangkok Urban Area
 1900 Royal City (13 km²)
 1980 Metro Bangkok (330 km²)
 2007 Current Royal Land (53 km²)



Krung Thep Maha Nakorn, the 'City of Angels', known to the world as Bangkok, was founded in 1782 as palace grounds for the first king, Rama I, of the Chakri dynasty. Its first walls were built from salvaged bricks of the former, sacked capital of Ayutthaya.

Beginning in the mid-1800's, in the context of an encroaching colonial presence in Southeast Asia, the monarchy created a unified Siam, with Bangkok as capital. In the period of modernization that followed, especially under King Chulalongkorn, a massive road-building campaign was undertaken. The city spread inland from the Chao Phraya River along these roads, replacing the network of canals that had been the center of city life, transportation and commerce. Land along these roads were granted as *petit palace* grounds for members of the ever-expanding royal family. Additional lots were leased to shopkeepers and other elite citizens, funding the monarchy through the Crown Property Bureau (CPB).

The absolute rule of the monarchy ended in 1932 by bloodless coup. Over half the CPB-owned land was nationalized; however, the Crown Property Bureau remained. The CPB fell back into control of the monarchy after WWII, and the Crown's land investments continued to grow all the way through the prosperous 1990's. After the economic crash in 1997, in an effort to recoup large losses in the real estate market, the CPB attempted to intensify their return on remaining land investment, overseeing a series of large-scale shopping malls in central Bangkok. This garish economic investment continues to erode the monarchy's social capital, undermines their cultural role as keepers of authentic Thai identity, and ultimately threatens the institution of the monarchy.

The Ghost Towers of Bangkok offer visible reminders of a city given over to Western investment and capitalist greed that caused the crisis ten years ago. By assuming control of these derelict buildings, and providing the city with the social programming long lacking in royal-funded projects, the monarchy can begin to repair its tarnished image.

BKK.CITY OF GHOSTS
 AFTER THE CRASH

SAMPLE_SITE



bangkok
population_6.000.000 (official)
10.000.000 (unofficial)



sathorn district
skytrain, river taxi, elevated highway
temple, hotels, residential

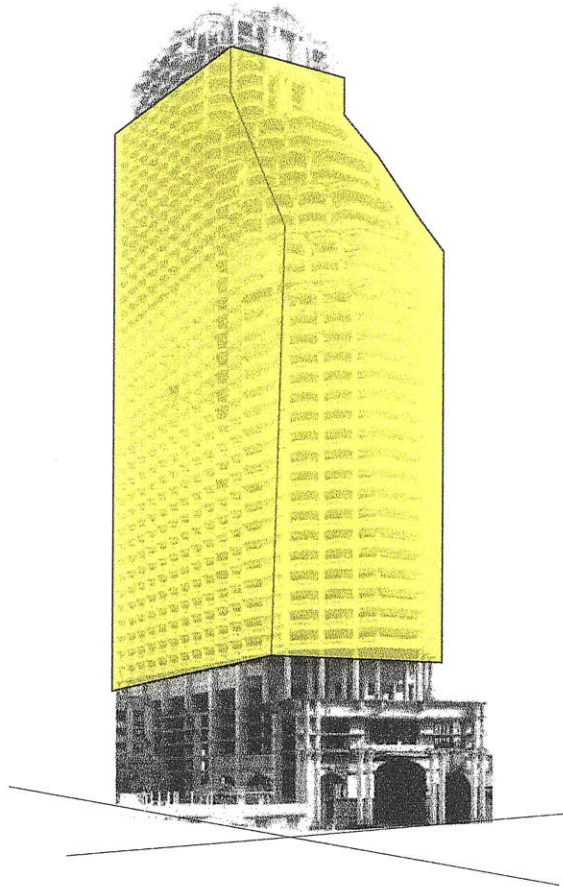


'sathorn unique'
population_0 (official)
20-30 (unofficial)
constructed (unfinished) 1997



BKK.CITY OF GHOSTS
AFTER THE CRASH

SKIN_STRATEGY



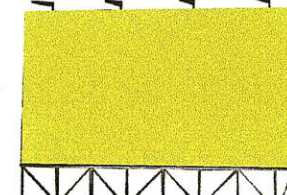
PERFORMATIVE 'THAI-NESS'

replace veneer thai-ness
skin adapted to climate
replaces western model of high-rise glass facade

CONSTRUCTED IDENTITY

akin to 'yellow shirt' phenomenon
changing face of royal-sponsored development

creation of new sign, new signifier
no references to 'historic' past
no references to 'buddhist' imagery
NEW MODERNITY - redefined



BKK.CITY OF GHOSTS
AFTER THE CRASH

*YELLOW SHIRTS



To celebrate King Bhumipol's 60th year on the throne.

Bhumipol was born on a Monday, and yellow is the color related to Monday. Shirts have been promoted not simply as support for the aging King, but as formal attire for the workplace.

The king was photographed in a pink shirt and jacket after a recent visit to the hospital. Apparently, this has sent ripples through the Thai fashion world, with predictions of pink as the new yellow.

The phenomenon highlights several issues within Thai culture:

hierarchy

A cynical view is that the shirts simply reveal the strong hierarchy within Thai society. Once the shirts were deemed 'office attire', it became somewhat mandatory to conform. The king, though only a figure-head, and the royal family benefit from the highly visible show of support.

cult of royalty

A more sympathetic reading is that Bhumipol is respected and revered – in fact, some believe his public works have made him the most well regarded monarch after Chulalongkorn – and the shirts are true outward signs of affection and support for the venerable king.

tropicalism + thai-ness

Another view is the shirt is an attempt to demote the western business suit from its position as standard formal wear. This is an effort both to re-instate a certain form of 'thainess' to formal/business wear, and promote clothing that is far more comfortable in Thailand's tropical climate.



energy + economy

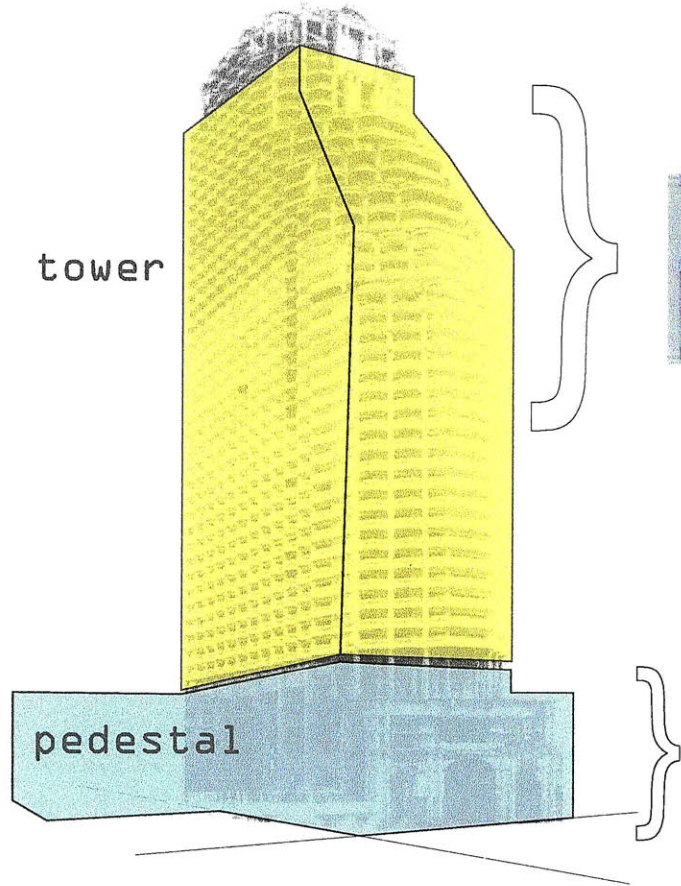
Related to the notion of the cotton shirt as a best option for the tropics, this angle into the phenomenon is most directly related to the field of architecture. The belief is that government officials, responding to the steady rise in energy cost, have been attempting to promote low-cost tactics to ameliorate/curb/ erase the notion of the air-conditioned office as standard practice. The landmark celebration for the king simply provided the opportunity needed to gain a critical mass and solidify the fashion trend.

What is interesting here is the intersection of fashion and energy use, and the central role that royal decree has played in the phenomenon. The ability of the monarchy to sustain its central position in Thai culture, maintained in large part through King Bhumipol's highly visible public works projects, affects city form and urban development. The issue of historic and current royal land holding will be addressed in another section, though all issues regarding the Chakri dynasty are of course highly interwoven.

BKK.CITY OF GHOSTS
AFTER THE CRASH

FILL_STRATEGY

tower



pedestal



VERTICAL CITY

profit motive
branding/identity
controlled/cleansed space

Q? Can the high-rise be subverted?
Is its form/value too dominant?

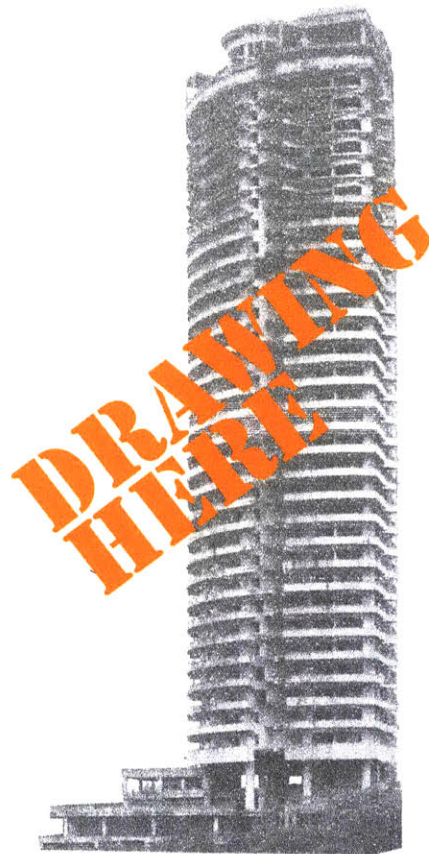


HORIZONTAL CITY

populist/contextual
market city
mobile city
informal city

BKK.CITY OF GHOSTS
AFTER THE CRASH

RECLAIM_STRATEGY



BKK.CITY OF GHOSTS
AFTER THE CRASH

COMMODITIES SHED
(stock ticket facade, grain storage)

VERTICAL PARK
(Lumphini Tower)

SPIRAL MARKET
(wrapped street linear market)

URBAN FARM
(vegetation as screen and livelihood)

SQUATTER FRAME
(self-build with framework)

WATER FILTRATION PLANT

SOLAR HOT WATER TOWER

SERVER FARM TOWER

PARK N' RIDE TOWER

TAM BOON (merit making) TOWER

ASLKDFJDSFLKDSJF

SKLDFJDSKFDJF;DSFA

KASJDF;LKDSFJ;DS

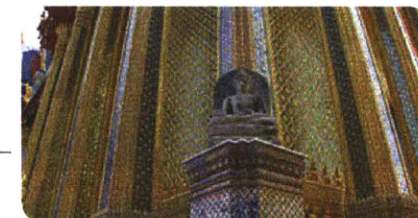
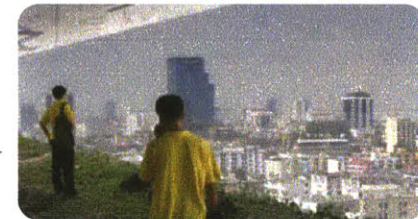
ETC ETC ETC

ASSETS:
RIVER, HIGHWAY, PUBLIC TRANSPORT,
EXISTING MARKETS, STRUCTURE

(armature)

VISIBILITY, LOW PRICES, LIMITED

TIMELINE



APPENDIX C GHOST INDEX

โครงการที่	ชื่อเจ้าของผู้ได้รับอนุญาต		เขต	ลำดับที่	รหัสโครงการ	ประเภทอาคาร	สภาพใบอนุญาต	จำนวนชั้นตามใบอนุญาต	พื้นที่ก่อสร้าง					สภาพแวดล้อมเป็นอันตราย	สำรวจปี 2546				สำรวจปี 2549				หมายเหตุ
	ใบอนุญาตเดิม	ใบอนุญาตปัจจุบัน							ตามใบอนุญาตเดิม	ฐานราก	โครงสร้าง	สถาปัตย์	งานระบบ		ไม่เปลี่ยนแปลง	เข้าใช้พื้นที่ ไม่ก่อสร้าง	ก่อสร้างอยู่	สร้างเสร็จแล้ว	ไม่เปลี่ยนแปลง	เข้าใช้พื้นที่ ไม่ก่อสร้าง	ก่อสร้างอยู่	สร้างเสร็จแล้ว	
1	บ. ฐานเศรษฐกิจ จก.	บ. ไมเนอร์ ซิตี้ แอนด์ เทคโนโลยี จก.	จตุจักร	1	001	12	2	32	23,961	23,961	23,961	23,961	23,961	0	1							1	
2	บ. ด.วิวัฒน์หรือเพอร์ติ จก.		จตุจักร	2	002/1	11	3	8	22,950	22,950	22,950	22,950	22,950	0				1				1	
3	นางเปลี่ยน วัชรทรัพย์		จตุจักร	3	003	19	3	7	8,139	0	0	0	0	0	1					1			ใช้เป็นที่พักอาศัยชั่วคราว
4	บ. พอลคออลซ์แดนท์ จก.		จตุจักร	4	004	13	3	7	5,793	5,793	5,793	5,793	5,793	0	1							1	
5	บ. พิษณุวัฒน์ ดิยะวณิช จก.		จตุจักร	5	005	11	3	10	6,275	6,275	630	0	0	0	1					1			
6	พจก. เพลินวิภา		จตุจักร	6	006/1	12	3	14	12,876	0	0	0	0	0	1						1		
			จตุจักร	7	006/2	19	3	5	5,975	0	0	0	0	0	1						1		ใช้เป็นที่พักจอดรถ
7	บ. ภาดาแลนด์แอนด์เฮ้าส์ จก.	บ. P.R.L. เฮ็นเดอร์เพอร์ส จก.	จตุจักร	8	007/1	11	3	9	7,290	0	0	0	0	0	1					1			
			จตุจักร	9	007/2	11	3	9	7,880	7,880	7,880	7,880	7,880	0				1				1	
8	บ. รวมนครก่อสร้าง จก.		จตุจักร	10	008	12	3	9	5,044	5,044	5,044	5,044	5,044	0				1				1	
9	บ. วสา หรือเพอร์ติ จก.		จตุจักร	11	009	13	2	32	103,092	103,092	103,092	82,474	72,164	0	1							1	
10	นายรังสรรค์ ยศยังเยาว์		จตุจักร	12	010	11	3	8	1,628	1,628	1,628	1,628	1,628	0	1							1	
12	บ. สุภาลัย จก.		จตุจักร	13	012/1	12	3	33	172,377	172,377	172,377	172,377	172,377	0				1				1	
13	บ. ชัตรณรงค์ จก.		จตุจักร	14	013/1	11	3	34	62,598	62,598	62,598	0	0	2	1					1			
			จตุจักร	15	013/2	11	3	34	67,793	67,793	61,811	0	0	2	1					1			
			จตุจักร	16	013/3	11	3	34	67,793	67,793	1,994	0	0	0	1					1			
14	บ. อมรินทร์ โบนัสไทย จก.		จตุจักร	17	014/1	13	3	31	70,280	0	0	0	0	0	1						1		ใช้เป็นที่พักจอดรถ
15	บ. นิษดาจว จก.	บ. แกมมูนิตี้ ดีเวลลอปเม้นท์ จก	ดอนเมือง	18	015/1	11	1	8	2,969	2,969	2,969	2,969	2,969	0	1							1	
			ดอนเมือง	19	015/2	11	1	8	2,969	2,969	2,969	2,969	2,969	0	1								1
			ดอนเมือง	20	015/3	11	1	8	2,969	2,969	2,969	2,969	2,969	0	1								1
			ดอนเมือง	21	015/4	11	1	8	2,969	2,969	2,969	2,969	2,969	0	1								1
			ดอนเมือง	22	015/5	11	1	8	2,969	2,969	371	0	0	0	1							1	
			ดอนเมือง	23	015/6	11	1	8	2,969	2,969	371	0	0	0	1							1	
			ดอนเมือง	24	015/7	11	1	8	2,969	2,969	371	0	0	0	1							1	
			ดอนเมือง	25	015/8	11	1	8	2,969	2,969	371	0	0	0	1							1	
			ดอนเมือง	26	015/9	11	1	8	2,969	2,969	371	0	0	0	1							1	
			ดอนเมือง	27	015/10	11	1	8	2,969	2,969	2,969	2,969	2,969	0	1								1

รหัสโครงการ 013

ผู้ได้รับอนุญาต : บ. จัตุรณรงค์ จก.

- ที่ตั้งโครงการ : ถ.พหลโยธิน แขวงลาดยาว
เขตจตุจักร
- ประเภทอาคาร : ตึก 34 ชั้น 3 หลัง
พักอาศัย
- สภาพใบอนุญาต : หมดอายุแล้ว
- การก่อสร้าง(ก.ค.41) : หลังที่ 1 โครงสร้างถึงชั้นที่ 34
หลังที่ 2 โครงสร้างถึงชั้นที่ 31
หลังที่ 3 โครงสร้างถึงชั้นที่ 1
- การก่อสร้าง(ก.พ.44): เท่าเดิม
- การก่อสร้าง (ก.ย.46) : **ไม่มีความคืบหน้าในการก่อสร้าง**
- การก่อสร้าง (มี.ค.49) : **ไม่มีความคืบหน้าในการก่อสร้าง**

06/02/2006

MAP PROJECT

Documents on these pages were kindly provided by the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration.

Both pages are examples of the ongoing census of 'interrupted projects' from the 1997 crash.

(left) Spreadsheet containing detailed information for each ghost building - floor area completed, unfinished - listed for each census (every 3 years). The example page show details for Chatuchak District, including the case study building for this thesis.

(right) A Powerpoint page, showing images of the site from the year 2541, '44, '49 census (1998,2001,2009). Includes any construction progress update (in this case, none) as well as building permit status (expired).

WELCOME

Thank you all for coming tonight. Thanks to the Alliance Francaise for allowing us to use their space on this Bastille Day holiday. I wish I could say there were fireworks after the talk, but I hope you stick around anyway.

My name is Kevin Moore, living in Thailand this year with my wife Felicity, who is conducting field work for her PhD in medical anthropology.

Tonight, I'll talk primarily of the background research and site visits that I've been conducting this year – towards my Masters in Architecture thesis.

I feel fortunate to share my work-in-progress with the Informal Northern Thai Group tonight, as I'm certain there are many in the audience who have a far more intimate take on the period of the late 1990's in Bangkok, Thailand, and the region – so I look forward to your feedback tonight – and I'll try to be brief to allow time for discussion.

AFTER THE CRASH

The research and narratives surrounding the 1997 financial crisis are in support of my thesis design project for my Masters in Architecture degree at MIT, back in Boston.

When I choose this topic, I certainly didn't expect to hear echoes of this crisis coming from Stateside – and it has been interesting to watch the same patterns of blame, call for regulation, public bailout of private debt, emerge.

It is sobering and frustrating to see this as a cycle – and like many architects working within larger financial systems, it is difficult to know what role (if any) the profession could play in tempering the cycle.

I must say, I enjoy the Thai penchant to give a flavor to economic crises, from the home-grown Setakit Tom Yum Goong, to our current Setakit Hamburger.

So, I guess in short, I'll be presenting some of the ingredients that went into the Tom Yum Goong – and, 12 years later in 2009, a view of the leftovers.

And to stretch the metaphor mercilessly, maybe lay out some plans for reheating those leftovers? (sorry)

(excepted from)
313th Meeting of the
Informal Northern Thai Group
Alliance Francaise
Chiang Mai, Thailand
14 July 2009



ONE MINUTE REAL-ESTATE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ANGELS

-Ayutthaya sacked by Burmese, late 18th century

-Thonburi, where the recently deposed King Taksin had briefly ruled Siam from 1768-1782

-Bangkok was founded upon the east bank of the Chao Phraya River as the seat of the new Chakri dynasty in 1782.

-Layout of the new capital Krung Thep (the City of Angels): primary concern was the re-establishment of the symbols, spaces and functions of the old capital of Ayutthaya

-The walls were constructed in part with salvaged bricks from the ruined walls of Ayutthaya, a gesture that further linked the new capital to the magnificence of the old, while simultaneously dismantling a potential fortification for a counter insurgency or Burmese advance from the north.

-In terms of trade, the City of Angels was considerably closer to the Gulf of Siam than Ayutthaya and lent itself even more favorably to maritime trade. In fact, Bangkok had been the site of a settlement of Chinese traders, who were moved from the desired site of the Grand Palace to the area that remains Bangkok's Chinatown.

-Road building: turn of 20th century, the 'Venice of the East' began to transform

-Most new road ways replaced existing canals. In 1905 King Chula had a Mercedes shipped to Bangkok, driving on new Rachadamnoen Road

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS

Ushered in a new era of development in Thailand:

- Condo Act of 1979 started with maximum 40% foreign ownership - such that the majority of any condo building was Thai.
- Condo Act #2 moved that number to 49% in the 1990's, during the boom.

- Then rewritten in Act #3 (1999) to allow 100% foreign ownership after 1997 crash, provided the building was within the Bangkok Metro and certain other areas (for a limited 5-year period):

- (i.e., such Condominium shall: (i) have not less than forty (40) Condominium Units;
- (ii) when combined with the common property designated for the benefit of the co-owners, its area shall not exceed five (5) rai;
- (iii) has already been registered at least one (1) year prior to the date a non-Thai applicant applies to register the transfer of ownership over a Condominium Unit;
- (iv) not be located in a military safety zone).

It is believed that the main reason for the enactment of Condominium Act No. 3 and the relaxation in foreign ownership limitation, was the need to attract foreign investors and investment into Thailand which suffered a tremendous decline in its economy and GDP pursuant to the economic crisis of 1997.

It is clear this is a 'See-through tower' amendment. The project needs to be (i)big, (ii)dense, (iii)distressed, (iv)not near royals or the army (ie. undesirable to have finished)

It's worth noting that the Condo Act insures no foreign legacy...

Condo Act #4 (2008) is essential a consumer protection amendment, mostly stating that promotional literature must match the final product, and offer a Standard Contract.

So this may be taken as a "No, never again" amendment. A sign that the Age of a New Sobriety has begun.



CONDO ACT OF 1979

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS

1 JULY 1997



12 JULY 1997



THE CRASH
SET loses 50% value
in one week

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS



บสท TAMC Thai Asset Management Corporation

-The 'bad bank' that was created after the 1997 crisis.

-TAMC's website states its mission as follows (and it is a mouthful):

"the objectives in managing impaired assets of financial institutions and of asset management companies, debt restructuring, and business reorganization by taking transfer of impaired assets of financial institutions and of asset management companies as well as any other rights over the property being held as collateral for debt repayments with respect to such impaired assets, or by applying any other measures for the purpose of reviving the economy or restoring national stability."

The impaired assets are also called NPL's - non-performing loans - and the website states that in 1999, two years into the crisis, 47.7% of loans from Thai banking institutions were in the NPL category.

In late 1997, Thailand shut down 56 insolvent finance companies. A year later, the government began auctioning off their roughly \$22 billion in bad loans and collateral. The unfinished office buildings on average fetched just half their book value, part of a liquidation that earned plaudits from abroad but generated widespread criticism at home as a fire sale for foreign bargain hunters.

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS



ศูนย์ข้อมูลอสังหาริมทรัพย์
Real Estate Information Center

English | Thai Member :

About REIC > Background

About REIC

The 1996 to 1999 real estate sector crash which drove the Thai economy into an economic crisis clearly indicated that woefully inadequate real estate sector demand and supply information was a major culprit. During the crisis, financial institutions experienced enormous amounts of Non - Performing Loans (NPLs) and many bankruptcies impacted the overall economy. These factors obligated the government to immediately develop a national real estate information center that would act as a repository of all relevant real estate data and information. This centralized repository of real estate data and information would provide information and statistical indicators that would prevent the recurrence of a severe real estate induced economic crisis in the future. The Ministry of Finance (MOF) developed a policy to establish **National Real Estate Information Center (NREIC)**. Based on the results of a feasibility study, the MOF conducted with the World Bank, the Thai Cabinet approved the Real Estate Information Center's (REIC) formation, with the Government Housing Bank playing a leading role in its initial operations. The Real Estate Information Center (REIC) was established by a Thai cabinet resolution on August 17, 2004 and commenced its operations on August 25, 2004 as part of GHB and supervised by its own Board of Directors.

The REIC's five major missions are:

1. Becoming the most recognized and reliable Thai Real Estate Information Center.
2. Developing research, analysis and forecasting capabilities through the effective use

REIC The Real Estate Information Center

The REIC's five major missions are:

1. Becoming the most recognized and reliable Thai Real Estate Information Center.
2. Developing research, analysis and forecasting capabilities through the effective use of reliable Real Estate Data.
3. Developing tools and indicators that reliably forecast the Thai property markets demand, supply and price levels.
4. Regularly disseminating Real Estate Information to the public.
5. Becoming a Real Estate Industry consulting center and knowledge base.

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS

REAL ESTATE

City possibly world's most over-built

World Bank blames sector's immaturity

Bangkok is possibly the world's most over-built city, with the current over-supply and vacancy rates far exceeding those experienced in the United States during the 1980s real estate crisis, the World Bank disclosed yesterday.

"From an international perspective, the magnitude of over-building in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region is among the highest recorded; possibly the highest," said a World Bank paper presented to a seminar on Thailand's economic recovery earlier this week.

The paper, compiled by three World Bank economists and entitled, "How the Thai Real Estate Boom Undid Financial Institutions," blamed the immaturity of Bangkok's real estate sector, plus the "unholy alliance" between lenders and property developers, for the massive over-building that sparked Thailand's financial crisis last year.

According to the paper, Thailand's vacancy rate in the residential market in early 1998 was close to 28 percent, or 350,000 units, whereas the rate among offices was 23 percent, and likely to hit 39-42 percent in the next three years.

"During its worst three years, 1986-88, in Houston (Texas) office vacancy rates ranged only from 22.2 percent to

25.1 percent," said the paper.

"The extraordinary high Bangkok Metropolitan Region office vacancy rates reflect the fact that the Thai real estate industry is immature," said the World Bank, noting that most office buildings had not been built by specialised property companies but by a plethora of businesses.

"Their investment decisions were not driven by sustainable rents and yields, but by easy access to credit, tax considerations, a trophy mentality, and euphoria."

The World Bank paper blamed much of the over-building on poor banking and called for a complete overhaul of the country's commercial property lending practices.

By the end of 1996, outstanding short-term and long-term loans by banks and finance companies to the real estate sector amounted to 800 billion baht (US\$20 billion), or 9 percent of all bank loans and 26 percent of finance loans.

The bank's paper urged Thai authorities to push through legislative changes that would facilitate property sales, such as allowing for more foreign investment in the sector, to limit the sector's ongoing drain on the domestic financial system.

"It should be abundantly clear by now to all public and private organisations operating in the sector that the crisis will last for several years," concluded the World Bank economists. — DPA

"Their investment decisions were not driven by sustainable rents and yields, but by easy access to credit, tax considerations, a trophy mentality, and euphoria."

BANGKOK POST

23 MAY 1998

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS

PROPERTY CRASH / WHO SHOULD PAY?

Wealthy developers seen as freeloaders

BANGKOK POST

31 MAR 1997

Library

'These people helped cause our problems'

Cholada Ingsrisawang
Sornruth Bunyananee

Commercial bankers blast property developers for taking free lunches paid from the public till.

Many bankers agree developers should bear a greater responsibility for the liquidity problems of their own firms, especially those who have profited handsomely in the past from Thailand's property boom.

A majority of firms, especially those listed on the stock exchange, are facing serious cash flow problems. Investors have punished many property firms on the SET, pushing share prices below par value.

But at the same time, bankers charge, the owners of the property firms are still able to sit back in relative luxury, having cashed in on speculative investments in the past.

At the Bangkok City Bank, said the public of property firm owners are too busy, usually. Many come in from a number of buildings with their hands full, all over the place, in a way that once owners



Dr Pisit ... owners Uthai ... public won't lift a finger takes burden

firm and sell off their personal assets to the corporation at high prices.

And once these firms entered the stock market, the owners doubly profited from the capital gains on their shareholdings.

But once these firms strike difficulties, their owners won't accept any share of responsibility for helping create the problem," Mr Uthai said.

"It was when the economy was still strong that these people helped cause our present economic problems through their property speculation."

Owners of property firms simply aren't willing to give up any of their own benefits by allowing land and

asset prices to fall to reflect market realities, Mr Uthai said.

Instead, what they do is cry out for government assistance, which in turn places the burden squarely on the shoulders of the public.

Property analysts have estimated that current prices would have to fall by 30% to properly reflect market demand.

Chada Wattanasiritham, executive vice-president at Siam Commercial Bank, said the bank had called on property firm owners to personally contribute to assist their firms.

But many owners had balked at the prospect, uninterested in sacrificing their own benefits, she said.

"Banks have to use some of their influence and reputation as an instrument in negotiating for property firm owners to sacrifice their personal benefits to help out their own company and shareholders."

One property firm executive said examples abound of firms in massive financial trouble but whose owners still are able to maintain a high-society profile, including Bangkok Land, Somprasong and the Ban Chang Group.

So far, the government has announced a number of measures aimed at addressing the problems of the property sector and its cascading ef-

fect on the financial system.

These include the Government Savings Bank and the Government Housing Bank extending low-interest property loans for civil servants and state enterprise employees, establishing the Property Loan Management Organisation and pumping funds into the money markets to help address liquidity problems at finance companies.

Pisit Lee-arittham, executive vice-president at Bangkok Bank, said it wasn't right for the public to have to bear all the costs of solving the problem.

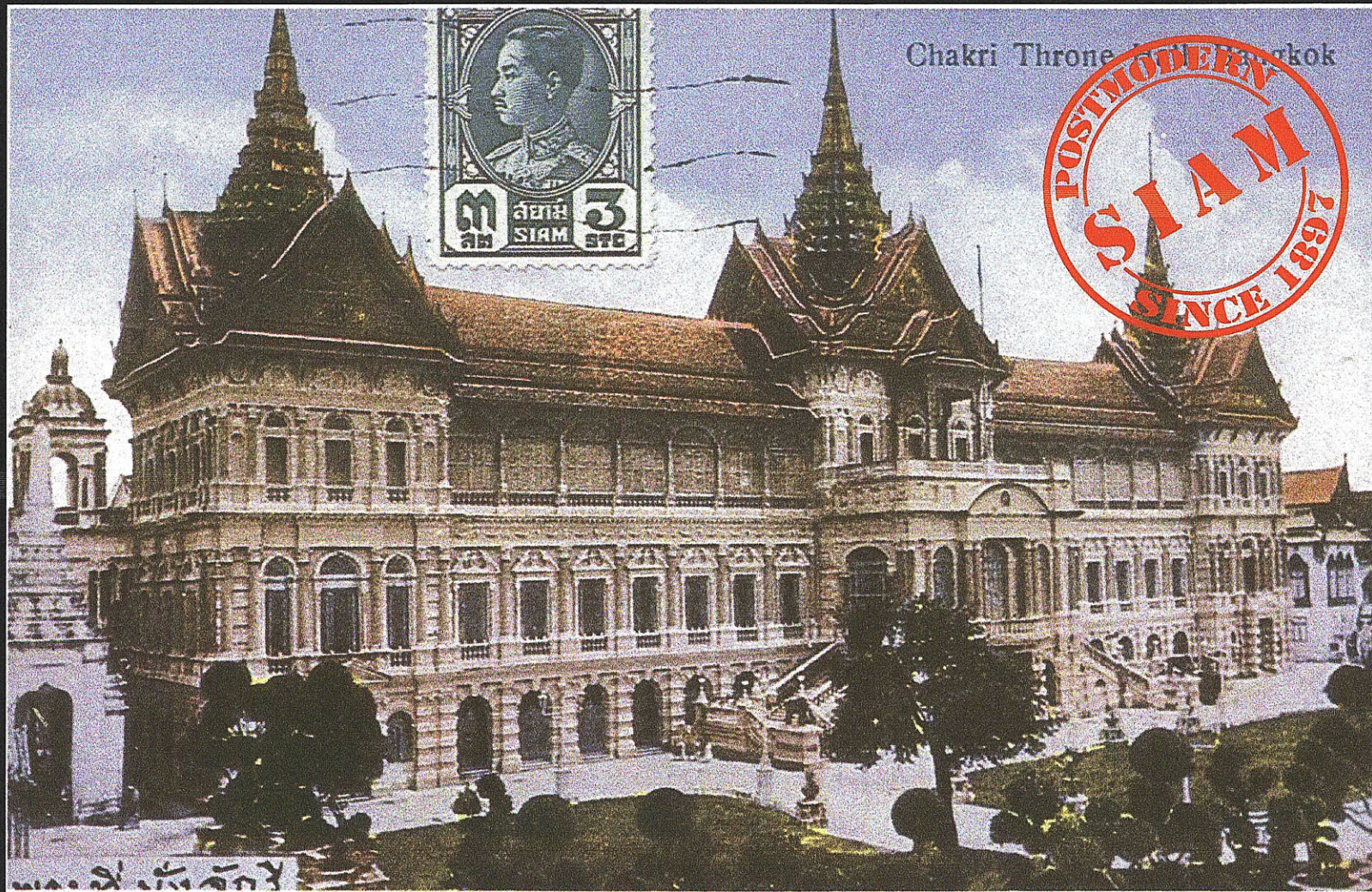
"[Property owners] benefited while the economy was strong. But now, they won't lift a finger and accept their share," he said.

Mr Uthai agreed, adding that the problems of Thailand's property sector differ significantly from problems experienced in Japan and the United States.

In the two other countries, problems in the financial sector arose once property values had dropped quickly by up to 50%.

But here in Thailand, prices have barely moved at all from their peak highs. Little activity is happening in the market because, although the demand is there, consumers lack buying power.

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS



BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS

POSTMODERNISM (THEN)

Post-Modernism's Promise – that the international story of Modernism was just that – a story – and in that, one of many stories. Post-modernism promise was that there is no single, universal aim (and believes that 'universal' language was the language of colonialism) – and that strength can arrive from (more local) histories and narratives as well.

Chakri Maha Prasat Throne Hall (*opposite*)

– finished in 1882

- King Rama V hired British architect, John Clunich.

- Western architecture became recognized as the Royal Preferred style: though the King wished to have an entirely western throne hall, he was advised against, and the result is the hybrid style.

Uses both forms of European power and royalty, as well as 'traditional' Thai elements. This careful construction of identity is exactly the issue that Postmodernism concerns itself with.

-essentially a baroque and Italianate palace with a traditional Thai roof.

-Rama V wanted a full European Hall in which to hold court. However, it was a regent who persuaded the King to replace the originally proposed dome with Siamese-style spires to preserve the tradition of the Siamese palaces

-It was at this point that aspiration for the modern came in direct conflict with established symbolism.

-The building in fact has signified kitsch for many, and has highlighted the mediocrity of a hybrid architecture; however, it is a surviving edifice that marks this period of negotiating cultural influence.

POSTMODERNISM (NOW)

- Elephant Bldg on Pahonyothin, near Chatuchuk park/market (*top*)

- UOB Bank tower on Sathorn, by Sumet Jumsai (*bottom*)



BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS

Asian Bureau of
Circulation
55,155
paid copies only
Thailand's only
audited circulation
newspaper

Bangkok Post

SINCE 1946 • WEDNESDAY OCT. 1, 1997 • 15 BAHT

TRANSPORT

Cabinet agrees to abandon Hopewell

Contractor blames government and warns of legal action

Post reporters

A six years of delay and having the Hopewell road and train project been scrapped. But the cabinet decision yesterday was not likely to be the end of the story, says Hopewell (Thailand) Co. may also sue the government for breach of contract.

The cabinet agreed to scrap the contract after being convinced Hopewell could not be able to proceed with its Bangkok Elevated Road and Train project, said the Transport and Communications Ministry.

The government threw its full support behind the project but Hopewell has already suspended work along

making unacceptable demands to return," said Suwat Liptapallop, who proposed the termination.

In May, the cabinet approved Hopewell's requests, including a 2.5 billion baht and the right to increase fares and link its tollways to expressways.

In August, Hopewell demanded the right to extend the project's extension from 40 to 60 years, six-sided payment of the annual 600-million-baht concession fee, and more taxes further.

Hopewell said the government was not willing to negotiate and it predicted a long struggle.

Mr Suwat said he would inform Hopewell of the decision and ask it to agree with the termination. It has the right to sue the government for breach of contract, and could sue for the other side, the government has the right to sue for compensation

Train to nowhere

The Hopewell project was planned as a 50-kilometer, multi-deck mass transit system consisting of elevated trains, elevated tollways, and bridge roads plus property development along its routes. Most were designed to run above the railway tracks in Bangkok.

November 8, 1990: The Transport and Communications Ministry and the State Railway of Thailand (SRT) awarded the project as a 50-year concession plus 4 years of construction to Hopewell (Thailand) Co., a subsidiary of Hong Kong-based Hopewell Holdings. The contract was said to have no clear penalty clauses such as fines in case of construction delays. But it gave the Thai side the right to scrap the deal if the project was unable to be completed.

December 6, 1991: The cabinet took action. December 9, 1995: Hopewell failed to complete part of the road's northern route from Don Mueang to Vachirajitti as contracted. Shortly afterwards, it promised to complete the northern route from Bangkok to Vachirajitti and the eastern route from Vachirajitti to Bang Mae before the Asian Games in December 1996.

July 1997: Hopewell suspended construction after only 14% of the system had been built, having failed to obtain loan worth 50 billion baht to fund construction.

Yesterday: The cabinet decided to scrap the project and by ordering it to stop construction and by ordering it to stop to complete work voluntarily scheduled for 1998. Hopewell reportedly has only a conceptual design of its Bangkok project, not a completed one.

POST REPORTERS

for the delay," he said.

Mr Suwat has prepared the following post-termination options:

Choose a new private consortium and invite it to implement the project.

Contract a new group of private firms to run the project, with Hopewell transferring the land rights it has built into shares in the new group.

Set up a joint venture with Hopewell and other private parties to go ahead with the project.

Award the project on a turnkey basis to a private contractor which



The supporting pillars of the Hopewell project have been left unattended for months following the suspension of construction. — SUNCHAI POOMLEANG

will have to compensate Hopewell for what it has already built.

Let the State Railway of Thailand take over the project and complete it with government funds.

The cabinet told Mr Suwat to pick the most suitable option and report to it later.

Without the Hopewell project, Bangkok would have no problem during the 15th Asian Games in December next year because the extension of the Din Daeng-Don Mueang tollway and Bangkok's outer ring road project were under way, Mr Suwat said.

Prime Minister, his deputy, said the cabinet was unanimous in its decision.

However, Montri Pongpanich, deputy premier and Social Action leader, who initiated the contract

when he was transport minister, said Hopewell should be allowed to remain in a new group of contractors to proceed with the project.

Otherwise, it would take seven-eight years of arbitration before the project could resume, said Mr Montri, who is also public health minister.

He was quoted as telling cabinet colleagues Hopewell had a strong intention at first to realize the project as it had the right to return to develop commercially 600 rai of SRT land in Hua Lampong, Makkasan, Chatuchak, and Bangkok Noi as well as land along the project's routes.

However, the current slump in the property sector and overall economy put the project in trouble.

Anusak Intharapavarak, vice-chairman of Hopewell (Thailand),

said the government was also to blame for the delay. The firm has liquidity problems because of the government's decision to float the baht, which reduces the project's expected return by 40% and prompted foreign financial institutions to suspend plans to fund the project, he said.

The project cost was originally estimated at 80 billion baht and was said to have exceeded 100 billion baht so far.

Mr Anusak also dismissed the idea of finding new investors to join the project, saying Hopewell had tried in vain to do so over the past year and the government would also fail.

Chai Wai, a director of Hopewell (Thailand), said the decision sent a negative message to foreign investors and bankers, particularly at a time when the economy faced difficulties.

"He (PM Montri Pongpanich, initiated contract as transport minister) was quoted as telling cabinet colleagues Hopewell had a strong intention at first to realize the project as it had the right in return to develop commercially 600 rai of SRT land in Hua Lampong, Makkasan, Chatuchak, and Bangkok Noi as well as land along the project's routes.

However, the current slump in the property sector and overall economy put the project in trouble."

Aha! the real prize was land, when land looked like gold — as the rail was the 'value added' mechanism. When real estate tanked, it just wasn't worth it (hence, no more investors interested)

KK. CITY OF GHOSTS



Hopewell Project

13 km. elevated rail
Hualamphong - Don Muang
Bangkok

Public/Private gone bad.

Also parallels US railroad builders (now timber/mineral extraction companies), as well as KrungThep initial roadbuilding by royals, which created petite palace estates and rental real estate that started the CPB's wealth.

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS



Sathorn Unique

Rangsan Torsuwan, architect
S.Sathorn Rd.
Bangkok

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS



SATHORN UNIQUE

-Architect Rangsan Torsuwan
(MIT graduate)

-47 story residential tower – perhaps the most iconic of the ‘ghosts’

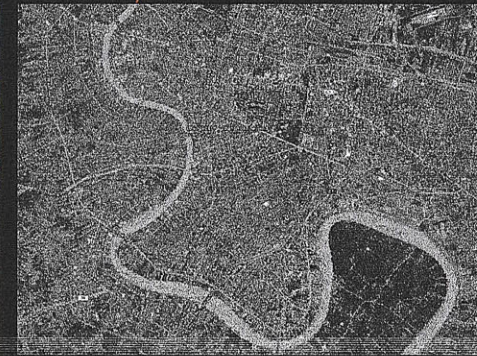
- South of Sathorn at the Taksin bridge Sky-train station, the tower sits on an 8-story retail pedestal

- Derisively called a ‘Vertical Shophouse’ by a real-estate broker, who claims to have attempted to talk Ajarn Rangsan out of his 4m x 16 m narrow floorplan.

- His own crisis beat the economic crisis by a few years: 1993 accused of plotting to assassinate the Supreme Court President Praman Chansue. Last year, after 15 year court battle (and Praman’s death due to natural causes), he has been sentenced to 25 years.

-Now, it seems the building changes owners almost yearly, with no-one able to enact a viable reclamation project.

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS



Muang Thong Thani

Bangkok Land, developer
Khet Don Muang
Bangkok

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS



MUANG THONG THANI

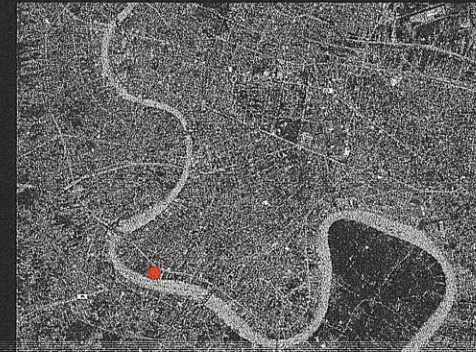
Developed by Bangkok Land – Anant Kanjanapas (and sons)

Eventually forced to sell most properties in fire sale, in order to complete Asian Games sports complex. Bangkok Land had been Thailand's largest developer.

“The 4000-rai Muang Thong Thani satellite town was to be the largest residential satellite outside of Bangkok, possible the largest privately-built satellite city in Asia.”

(Bangkok Post)

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS



SV Gardens

Eric Lai, architect

Rama III Rd.
Bangkok

-Four riverfront towers, 30-35 stories, on Rama III road, which was planned to have been the new CBD.

-Sahaviriya City, better known as SV City, is 60% owned by Thailand's largest steel producer Sahaviriya Steel, with the rest held by Hong Kong-based investment group, New Wave.

-Hong Kong density in Bangkok – didn't really work out. Ended up placing everyone in SV City.

BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS



BKK. CITY OF GHOSTS